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TEACHERS COLLEGE RECORD

The Support of Research in Education*

STEPHEN M. COREY

DEAN, AND PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION, TEACHERS COLLEGE

THE progress of any profession and the education of its personnel are halting, at best, and involve many lateral and retrogressive movements. There is good reason to believe, however, that changes in professional practices and in professional education are more likely to represent real improvements if they are based upon evidence resulting from research. Certainly for the education profession, research has been one of the powerful forces that have improved not only teaching and administrative practice but teacher education in the broadest sense as well.

Research that gives some assurance of bettering a profession must be of high quality, and this means that it is time-consuming and expensive. We have been conducting educational research for the past sixty years, but throughout this period the financial support of research has been niggardly. Many of the better inquiries have been doctoral dissertations reporting the first and last research undertaken by their authors. Other investigations have been conducted by staff members of educational institutions, but in many cases at considerable personal sacrifice.

Within the past few years this situation has changed to some degree. Rather large amounts of money from "outside" sources have become available to people conducting educational research. Philanthropic foundations as well as a number of government agencies have shown greater interest in supporting educational research. One of the dramatic developments involving a government agency resulted from the passage, by the 83rd Congress, of Public Law 531. This law made available to the United States Office of Education a substantial budget to be used to support selected surveys, dem-

* This article is based upon an address delivered by the author on August 8, 1957 as part of the Teachers College All-College Lecture Series.

onstrations, and research studies. The present discussion is an attempt to examine this United States Office of Education research program and to look, too, at foundation support of educational research and some of the problems that are faced both by the foundations and by the recipients of their largesse.

CONGRESS PROVIDES FUNDS FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The United States Office of Education itself conducts research studies—usually of the survey type. The professional personnel of the office, however, have felt for many years that federal money should be made available for experimentation and research in a variety of educational areas. Several requests were made of Congress for funds for this purpose but little progress was made until former Commissioner Brownell and his associates persuaded the 83rd Congress to take action. This Congress, by adopting Public Law 531, permitted the Commissioner of Education "to enter into contracts or jointly financed cooperative agreements with universities and colleges and state educational agencies for the conduct of research, surveys, and demonstrations in the field of education." The law further stipulated that the Commissioner must seek the advice of educational research specialists "competent to evaluate proposals as to the soundness of their design, the possibilities of securing productive results, the adequacy of resources to conduct the proposed research, surveys, or demonstrations, and their relationship to other similar educational research already completed or in progress." Approximately 1 million dollars was provided for implementing the provisions of this act during 1956-57.

This law is an interesting and important milestone in American education. It has been liberally interpreted, particularly in reference to the expression "research, surveys, and demonstrations." Commissioner Derthick strongly supports the research program of his office and was instrumental in persuading Congress to appropriate 2.3 million dollars for research expenditure during 1957-58.

THE RESEARCH ADVISORY COMMITTEE

In order to get some preliminary research planning done, the Office of Education appointed in 1955 an *ad hoc* Research Advisory Committee under the chairmanship of J. Cayce Morrison, Director of the New York City Puerto Rican Study. Other members of the committee were Frank Hubbard, then Director of the Research Division, NEA; Erick L. Lindman, Professor of School Administration, George Peabody College for Teachers; Willard C. Olson, Dean of the School of Education, University of Michigan; and H. H. Remmers, Director of the Division of Educational Reference, Purdue University. In due course this *ad hoc* committee was made the official advisory committee and four people were added to it: Ruth E. Eckert of the University of Minnesota, Ralph W. Tyler of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, C. J. Van Slyke of the National Institutes of Health, and Dael Wolfle of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Arrangements were made for this permanent committee to meet at least three times a year, with extra meetings called if necessary. The term of membership was to be three years.

The Advisory Committee agreed upon three major headings for research and under these headings, ten major research areas. Heading A, "Conserving and Developing Human Resources," included

the following four research areas: Education of the Mentally Handicapped, Development of Special Abilities of Students, Educational Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency, and Retention and Continuation of Students in Schools and Colleges.

Heading B, "Housing and Staffing for the Nation's Schools," included two research areas: Staffing the Nation's Schools and Colleges, and Present Status and Future Needs.

Heading C, "Educational Implications of Expanding Technology and Economy," included four research areas: Implications of Expanding Technology for Vocational Education, Educational Problems Resulting from Population Mobility, Educational Needs of the Low-Income Rural Families, and Educational Uses of Television.

The general idea was that universities, colleges, and state educational agencies would propose investigations falling under one or more of these headings. Each proposal would then be studied by the Advisory Committee, using the following criteria:

1. The study must be expected to have a demonstrable value to education within a reasonable time.

2. It must be concerned with a problem on which progress had been delayed because of wide gaps in knowledge.

3. It must have significance for the country as a whole.

4. Preference will be given to new projects or to those in which duplication will be desirable as a scientific check on earlier conclusions.

5. Consideration in relation to each project will be given to: (*a*) the competence of the person who will direct it, (*b*) the research resources of the institution under whose egis it will be directed, (*c*) the scientific merit of the project, (*d*) the extent to which the project will help to develop research personnel, and finally (*e*) the need for research in the area proposed in relation to the total educational research picture.

The Advisory Committee went about its work in a businesslike fashion. Each member independently reviewed every proposal and "scored" it on a 1-5 scale for the degree to which each of the criteria was met. Proposals which were judged unanimously to be worth while were recommended. Others were discussed by the committee. In some instances suggestions for improvement of the projects were made.

As has been said, for the year 1956-57, about 1 million dollars was appropriated by Congress in support of Public Law 531. Over half of this amount, actually $675,000, was earmarked for research devoted to Education of the Mentally Retarded. By November 1, 1956, the Committee had studied 130 proposals submitted by 100 educational institutions and agencies. Twenty-nine were recommended. By June, 1957, the committee had reviewed 316 proposals, recommended favorable action on 108, and 72 had been contracted for. About 1 million dollars of federal money was obligated in support of these contracts for the year 1956-57 and an additional 4.2 million dollars to carry the projects through to completion, assuming the continuation of Congressional appropriation for educational research. The contracting institutions committed themselves to contribute about 2.3 million dollars or 36 per cent of the total cost of the research undertaken in the first 72 contracts.

Some idea of the kinds of inquiry being encouraged by the Office of Education is given in the following list of

projects, institutions, and major investigators involved in the sixteen contracts most recently signed (through August 1957).

Institution	Project	Major Investigator
Arizona State College at Tempe	Investigation of Mental Retardation and "Pseudo-Mental Retardation" in Relation to Bilingual and Subcultural Factors	Willard Abraham
New York State Education Department	Educational Outcomes Under Single- and Two-track Plans for Educable Mentally Retarded Children	J. Wayne Wrightstone
University of Minnesota	Daytime Educable Retardates Compared with Institutional Retardates	Maynard C. Reynolds
University of Wisconsin	Perception of Symbols in Skill Learning by Mentally Retarded, Gifted, and Normal Children	Virgil E. Herrick Theodore L. Harris
University of Chicago	Educational Motivation Patterns of Superior Students Who Do and Those Who Do Not Achieve in High School	Paul H. Bowman
University of Pittsburgh	Educational Plans and Decisions in Relation to Aptitude Patterns	John C. Flanagan
University of Wisconsin	Decisions of Youth About Education Beyond High School and Factors That Influence Them	J. Kenneth Little
University of Chicago	Motivation of Youth for Leaving School	Paul H. Bowman
University of Minnesota	Attitudes and Other Characteristics Associated with Secondary School Home-Making Teachers' Ability to Maintain Desirable Learning Situations	Roxana R. Ford
George Washington University	Use of Supervised Correspondence Study to Relieve the Teacher Shortage	Blake S. Root
Southern Oregon College	Integrating the Humanities and Social Science in a Block Teaching Project	Arthur Kreisman
Stanford University	Community Understanding as a Factor in the Financial Support of Public Education	William R. Odell
Stanford University	Organization of the Study of Education	W. H. Cowley

Syracuse University	Influence of Adolescent's Social Values on Personal Relations with Other Adolescents and with Teachers	Eric F. Gardner
University of California	Attitudes of High School Students as Related to Success in School	T. Bentley Edwards
University of New Mexico	Problems of Adjustment of Indian and Non-Indian Children in the Public Elementary Schools of New Mexico	Miles Zintz

CONTRACTS WITH TEACHERS COLLEGE

Three Office of Education contracts have so far been negotiated with Teachers College, Columbia University. One is for a four-year study of the effect of nursery school training on the subsequent educational experience of the mentally retarded. This is one of the more generously financed of the USOE projects and is under the general direction of Professor Maurice Fouracre.

The second Teachers College contract supports a study, directed by Professor Irving Lorge, of the terminology and concepts that are used in appraising the mentally retarded.

The third contract involves collaboration among an association of 32 major universities called the University Council for Educational Administrators, Teachers College, and the Educational Testing Service at Princeton. This study is under the general direction of Professors Daniel Davies and Daniel Griffiths and is an attempt to identify the factors that are associated with successful school administration.

The experience of Teachers College in negotiating research contracts with the United States Office of Education has been good. The professionals from that Office have been cooperative and helpful. One difficulty has arisen from the government policy of providing only 15 per cent of a total budget for indirect costs. The result is that approximately half of such costs must be borne by the contracting institution. At least this is the case for Teachers College. Our cost studies indicate that if the direct expenditures for a particular research project total, say, $100,000 during a single year, the total cost to the College of the project is much closer to $133,000 if we charge to it its *pro rated* share of expense for housing, communications service, library, student services, budgeting, central administration, and similar indirect costs. This means that institutions analogous to Teachers College contribute approximately 15 per cent of the total costs of a research project that is considered to be subsidized by the United States Office of Education. The attitude of the government may be that this provides some test of the earnestness of the contracting institution. It also discourages some institutions that might be excellently qualified to do high grade research from submitting proposals.

EVALUATION OF USOE RESEARCH PROGRAM

It is impossible at present to appraise the consequences of the research being

subsidized by Congressional appropriations to the United States Office of Education. Planning, appraising, budgeting for, and getting major research projects under way is a complicated and difficult process and takes time. It has proved to be harder for the Office of Education to clear contracts for projects than was at first anticipated. At least this is one inference to be drawn from the fact that it was not until late in 1956-57 that most of the funds appropriated for that year were committed.

Although few of the studies supported by these USOE funds have been completed, the significance of making federal money available to support educational research by other than federal agencies cannot be overestimated. The most obvious advantage is that the research projects give promise of improving professional practice in education. A second, less obvious advantage, and this assumes that funds will regularly be allocated by the USOE to other educational institutions and agencies, is that research as a regular part of the operations of all of these institutions—colleges, universities, and state agencies—will be encouraged. The likelihood that the USOE funds will be used to support continuing research by state departments of public instruction is particularly encouraging. If these organizations increasingly benefit in their decision-making and actions from research, the USOE grants might then constitute a kind of seed money that will make it easier to get funds from other sources as well. In its first year relatively little support was given through USOE grants to research actually conducted by state departments of public instruction. It is conceivable, of course, that few applications from such agencies were received.

It is to be hoped that most of the funds made available to the Office of Education in support of research in the future will continue to be used to subsidize studies conducted by universities, colleges, and state educational agencies. There is some support for the proposal that the Office of Education employ its own staff of research specialists. In the judgment of many people, however, this would be a serious mistake in that it could easily mean needless duplication of research facilities and personnel.

The Office of Education research program apparently rests on the assumption that if excellently trained and well-supported investigators discover and report the truth, this will in due course result in the improvement of educational practices. This is the conception of the relationship between the findings of educational research and the improvement of educational practice that has obtained, generally, since the earliest talk about the science of education. There is some reason to believe that we consistently overestimate the amount of improvement that comes about merely because reports of research indicate that certain things should happen. In the future the Office of Education may encourage some research that is designed to learn more about what must be done in order that educational institutions can improve. There is a rather widespread belief that self-study will lead to improvement, but relatively little is known about ways and means for directing and encouraging and nourishing self-study so that maximum improvement will take place.

PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

At the latest count[1] there were some 6,000 foundations in the United States

[1] *Giving: USA*, 1957 Edition (New York, American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel, Inc.), pp. 31f.

engaged in philanthropic giving. The total assets of all 6,000 approximate 9 billion dollars. So much of this wealth is now in common stocks that a precipitate rise in the market in one day can add as much, on paper, as 50 million dollars to total foundation assets. Each of eighty of the larger foundations has more than 10 million dollars in assets. Many foundations are small. Seventy-seven of the largest control more than two-thirds of all foundation resources. The five most generously endowed foundations with their approximate net worth are as follows:

Ford, 2.5 billion dollars
Rockefeller, 500 million
Carnegie, 250 million
Sloan, 135 million
Kellogg, 124 million

So far as the support given research by philanthropic foundations is concerned, Andrews contends that "Scientific research is still a small part of the activities of the foundations as a whole but it does characterize the programs of many of the leaders."[2]

During 1953-54, the 77 largest foundations used approximately 16 per cent of their expendable funds to support scientific research. This comes to about 27 million dollars. Another group of 37 of the largest foundations reported that during 1953 they contributed 10.5 million dollars for social science research. If the 77 largest foundations gave this same percentage for social science research, which is conceivable but not probable, this would represent a maximum total of 13 to 14 million dollars. It is almost impossible to make an estimate of the percentage of this amount that went for educational research. In all likelihood it would not exceed 1 million dollars.

What this means, of course, is that the amount of money contributed by philanthropic foundations through 1953-54 for research in education was small. In the first year, under Public Law 531, the United States Office of Education probably provided as much.

It is inevitable, given the large number of American philanthropic foundations, that their policies and practices in respect to the disbursement of their funds would vary appreciably. Even among the largest foundations there has, historically, been a difference between those that tend to support men considered by the foundation officials to be exceedingly creative, resourceful, and productive and those that tend to support projects. This is not a sharp dichotomy but it illustrates a basic difference in policy.

Within the past few years there seems to have been a decrease in the disposition of some of the foundations interested in educational research to make grants to institutions that had independently arrived at judgments regarding the research they wanted to do. This situation seems to be most clearly illustrated by the Fund for the Advancement of Education, whose officials do not seem disposed to wait for the initiative to be taken by institutions competent to do research and then provide grants in support of the projects considered most important by these institutions. On the contrary, the procedure appears to have been for the officials to attempt to interest colleges, universities, or school systems, not always directly, in inquiries or demonstrations regarding problems or practices that the officials believed to be critical. This has led many people to feel that the officers of the Fund were convinced that certain educational practices

[2] F. Emerson Andrews, *Philanthropic Foundations* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1956), p. 258.

—the use of teacher aids, classroom television, an apprentice type of teacher education—were good, and therefore the Fund was willing to devote large sums of money to demonstrating their worth and advertising their merits. This apparently was what happened in connection with the so-called Arkansas Experiment in Teacher Education. Evaluation was an afterthought. This impression that the Fund is somewhat committed to certain solutions to current educational problems is reinforced by Woodring's recent report on 24 projects in the areas of teacher education and recruitment supported by the Fund to the extent of about 8 million dollars.[8]

There is one serious consequence of foundations or government agencies having available large amounts of money that might be given to universities which are willing to conduct research on problems the officials of these fund-granting organizations consider important. This consequence is the thousands of man-days spent by research personnel developing proposals that conform to the real or fancied interests of the foundation or government agency. This tends, of course, to remove decision-making regarding what inquiries should be conducted from the persons who presumably know most about the area in question, namely, the investigators themselves.

[8] Paul Woodring, *New Directions in Teacher Education* (New York, The Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1957).

CONCLUSION

Funds in support of educational research come from a variety of sources. They can represent a fraction of the student fees paid for tuition; they can come from tax sources, endowment income, individual gifts, foundation gifts, government subsidies, and corporation or business gifts. Most of the research in education, however, is not supported in this fashion. It is made possible by faculty members who, as part of their regular appointments, and in addition to heavy teaching schedules, spend a great number of hours conducting investigations. Almost all of the educational research that has had an influence upon current educational practice has come out of overtime, so to speak, of these dedicated men and women.

General Education in a Complex University*

EARL J. McGRATH

EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE INSTITUTE OF HIGHER EDUCATION, AND
PROFESSOR OF HIGHER EDUCATION, TEACHERS COLLEGE

SOME months ago, a well-known Eastern university sponsored a conference on the topic "General Education at the Crossroads." In this meeting there was an atmosphere of doubt as to whether the developments which have been described by the term "general education" are really permanent features of American higher education. In fact, some of the speakers seemed to believe that the scrapping of the whole general education movement might be imminent. Their uninspired and uninspiring proposal, if one read between the lines, appeared to be that, instead of going forward or even off to the right or left of the course on which we have embarked, we should make a 180-degree turn and return to the happy days of specialization.

In spite of these views of a minority group of educators, there is not the slightest doubt that the forces which brought programs of general education into being are today stronger than ever. We sometimes forget that there has always been a group of vigorous thinkers among the older professional guilds who have seen the dangers of the narrowly educated mind. In the study of relationships between liberal and professional education now being conducted by the Institute of Higher Education, the views of the various professional groups on general and liberal studies are being reviewed. It is encouraging to observe the many incisive and cogent arguments advanced by lawyers, doctors, engineers, and men in public office many years ago in favor of a broad base of general education as a prerequisite to, or an adjunct of, specialized studies. In 1876, for example, the American Institute of Mining Engineers in a meeting in Washington, heard Mr. A. L. Holley say:

> It is useless to disguise the fact that the want, not of high scholarship, but of liberal and general education, is today the greatest of all the embarrassments which the majority of engineering experts and managers encounter. . . . it seems of the first importance to promote . . . a public opinion, that liberal and general culture is as high an element of success in engineering as it is in any profession or calling.

Similar sentiments were expressed a few years earlier by a distinguished jurist and teacher of the law, Mr. Justice Story,

* Dr. McGrath was U. S. Commissioner of Education, Office of Education (now the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare), from March 1949 to April 1953. He was President and Chancellor of the University of Kansas City, Missouri, September 1953-1956.

in the address at the time he assumed the Dane Professorship at Harvard, on August 25, 1829. Dramatizing the value of a broad education, Justice Story expressed the opinion that:

> Many of our most illustrious statesmen have been lawyers; but they have been lawyers liberalized by philosophy, and a larger intercourse with the wisdom of ancient and modern times. The perfect lawyer, like the perfect orator, must accomplish himself for his duties by familiarity with every study. It may be truly said that to him nothing that concerns human nature or human art is indifferent or useless.

The concept which undergirds the developments of the past quarter century in general education is not new in the world of learning, but for a period it lay dormant under a blanket of technological progress and academic specialization.

THE AGE OF SPECIALIZATION

After the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862, the center of gravity in American higher education began to shift from general to specialized studies and many professional schools sprang into existence. The extent to which this process has advanced can be seen in the number of first degrees granted in various types of curricula in 1900 and in 1950. In the fields of agriculture, business administration, engineering, and education the total of all degrees granted in 1904 was 6 per cent, but by 1951-53 this figure had risen to 49 per cent of the total. And these figures must be corrected in terms of the practice of permitting considerable flexibility in election of specialized courses within the Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees themselves. Furthermore, even within individual courses—for example, elementary zoology, psychology, and sociology—the subject matter until recent years reflected the narrowing vocational interests of research scholars, rather than the broad cultural purposes of genuinely educated men and women.

The demands of practical-minded laymen outside institutions of higher education combined with the coercive power of the academic hierarchy created a higher education in this country which, however well it may have prepared its patrons for their duties as workers, sent out in increasing numbers men and women who were, as one scientist put it recently, "hardly any better informed or intellectually curious about many aspects of modern life than the man in the street." A quarter-century or more ago, a few perceptive, nonconformist, courageous educators saw the need for broader education in our colleges and universities. As a result of their activities, imaginative programs of general education were inaugurated at Columbia, Chicago, Colgate, and the University of Florida. Through the years these programs have changed in almost every respect—content, method, organization, administration, evaluation, and even in specific aims and objectives. But the overriding purposes of providing a broad education for the general responsibilities of life in a democratic society have persisted essentially unaltered. What is more important to observe today is that the scattered developments of a quarter-century ago have now spread to several hundred institutions. This revolution in higher education has been accomplished in spite of overt counterattacks in faculty debates and professional societies, and "cold wars" in which the powerful weapons of promotion, salary, and status in polite academic society have been strategically employed.

In academic circles, one continues to hear many questions about all aspects of general education. These questions, with a few exceptions like those raised in the

meeting already referred to, do not relate to the permanency of general education. They are concerned with ways and means to strengthen existing programs and to adapt them more closely to the needs of the rapidly changing conditions of modern life. There is no doubt that we shall continue to be concerned about the extension and improvement of general education as we shall constructively extend and improve our efforts to meet the challenge of communism. And success in the former will be a function of success in the latter.

FORCES STRENGTHENING GENERAL EDUCATION

There are several forces now at work in American society, however, which will accelerate the development of general education and probably require still further changes in its purposes and character. It will be instructive to examine these forces.

The first springs from the thoughts and actions of leaders in business and industry. It would be easy to prepare a long list of names of chairmen of boards of directors or presidents of firms who have unequivocally urged the broader education of their future employees. These men, who engage a large percentage of the graduates of educational institutions which prepare men and women for their future technical responsibilities, express dissatisfaction with the narrowness of specialized education. They point out that even those who are vocationally competent often lack insight into the types of human relationships which create, impair, or destroy morale in a complex social organization such as a business or an industry. The same lack of knowledge in the social sciences which handicaps men in their personal relationships with their associates also restricts their understanding of the place of the business enterprise in the total fabric of American society. A broader knowledge of the social sciences and the humanities, these leaders believe, even at the expense of technical instruction, would produce more competent, better-adjusted, and happier individuals—a great asset in any corporate enterprise.

Business leaders assert, moreover, that it is such men and women who advance to top managerial, planning, and policy-making positions. It has been said that the views of the president of a firm on the values of general education are belied by the actions of the personnel officers who hire college graduates. Hence some educators advise students to disregard the idealistic rhetoric of the leaders in choosing a course of study. This is a dangerous practice for two reasons: we are obviously in a period of readjustment in which old practice is only slowly catching up with new policy. By the time today's students are tomorrow's employees, an even higher value will doubtless be placed on general education. Furthermore, industrial leaders are emphasizing that it is the broadly educated man who *rises to top positions.* At best, therefore, advisers can say that excessive and premature specialization gives one an "initial vocational advantage," but that men and women of enterprising spirit who eventually seek positions of broad responsibility are increasing the probability of success by pursuing a broader course of study.

But vocational efficiency is not the sole aim of public leaders. They also point to the value of general education in the discharge of the responsibilities of citizenship in our complex world. The business enterprise itself, like our own personal lives, is more and more being affected by public policy expressed through federal

and state laws. Indeed, our free enterprise economy is profoundly influenced, if not shaped, by events in the world at large outside our own boundaries and by friend and foe alike. National policies at home and abroad must be enlightened if we are to survive and prosper. Whether they will be wise or foolish policies will be determined in this democratic society with universal suffrage by the wisdom or the folly of individual citizens. Informed and wise decisions cannot be made by ignorant and foolish citizens. In a very real sense, then, the range of knowledge, the intellectual skills, and the moral standards of citizens will determine not only the good or bad health of our domestic economy but our position in the world. A growing number of leaders in business, industry, the professions, and government recognize these facts of contemporary life. They urge a more inclusive education for all, regardless of their vocational aims and aspirations.

A BUSINESSMAN'S OPINION

No one in American society has made a better case for general education, especially for those who are planning to enter business, than Clarence Randall, Chairman of the Board of Inland Steel. The Randall lectures, given at Harvard late in 1956, are destined to be classics in this field. They deserve to be read by members of the academic profession and by thoughtful citizens generally. Two of Mr. Randall's statements in those lectures represent the advanced thinking of business leaders in regard to the value of general studies. In regard to the need for broader education for success in large corporate organizations, he says:

> As I have walked along the old familiar paths of the Harvard yard and passed once more through the very gate through which I first entered some 48 years ago, I have wondered what my thoughts would have been had I then known how my life was to develop. . . . I am profoundly grateful that I did not know as a freshman what course my life would take, for had I foreseen it, I am positive that the general education which has given me such deep satisfaction would not have come to pass. Had older friends known that I was to spend my life in the steel industry, they would have insisted that Greek and Latin were a waste of time and would have demanded that I specialize in metallurgy and other technical studies. I could not then have answered that there have been few chief officers of steel companies who were trained as metallurgists, nor stated my firm belief that there is no type of specialized education that can insure success in so-called top management.

In speaking of the need for understanding the society of which we are a part, and particularly the social institutions which give direction and meaning to our lives, Mr. Randall states:

> I find no relationship between technology and freedom, but believe rather that the advancement of the concept of liberty rests entirely upon the cultivation of the mind and the spirit of man through the processes of general education.

Another opinion increasingly common among those who engage the graduates of such professional schools as engineering and business administration is strengthening the position of general education in our colleges and in our culture. Many business and industrial leaders believe that even the instruction which relates directly to vocational competence is too narrow. They disapprove of an enormous multiplication of courses which deal with highly specialized branches of business and engineering at the expense of general principles which, in the hands of a person of competent intellectual skills, should have wide application. Indeed, many industrial leaders assert that they prefer students educated in the prin-

ciples of their profession who can be trained after graduation in the special problems or techniques of specific organizations.

These attitudes among the consumers of the product of colleges and universities explain the fact that some of the most productive deliberations concerning the values of general or liberal studies in a professional program have been occurring in the engineering profession. Indeed, one who observes the analytical curriculum studies and the thoughtful utterances of engineering educators cannot fail to come to the conclusion that, in reassessing the values of general education in a professional curriculum, the members of this profession are ahead of many of their colleagues in the other professional schools and, paradoxically, also in some liberal arts colleges.

When one considers the vital concern among professional groups in strengthening the broad foundations of specialized study, he is forced to speculate that the professional schools may outstrip the liberal arts colleges in the development of a pattern of higher education which prepares students not only for professional competence but also for the more comprehensive activities of thoughtful citizenship and a rich personal life. In any event, this is a time when professional faculties will regard sympathetically any proposals for the inclusion in their curricula of instruction which is genuinely broadening in its influence.

All types of institutions and all members of the profession should welcome the current opportunities. The American philosophy of educational opportunity is being swiftly realized at the college level. Clarification and reaffirmation of the purposes and the character of general education are needed as institutions of higher education attempt to serve larger numbers of youth. New conceptions must be used in the restructuring of courses in the various divisions of knowledge—in the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences. They will have implications for the reorganization of all aspects of institutional life, such as student activities, housing, and athletics. Our concern at present, however, is with the over-all organization and administration of the general education enterprise.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONSIDERATIONS

One of the most vexing problems in this connection is the proper location of the program in the total structure of the institution. This problem is more acute in the large complex university than it is in the smaller liberal arts colleges. Yet, even in the latter, the matter of separate integrity or integration with the specialized work of the various departments is a recurring and often troublesome question. As in the case of all other organizational or administrative arrangements, each institution must devise structures and functions which fit its own purposes, personnel, and processes. Plans which are quite satisfactory in one place may be totally inapplicable and inoperable in another.

Various types of organization and administration of the general education program have, however, now been in operation long enough to justify some fairly reliable observations concerning their relative merits. Take the matter of the physical separation of the administrative responsibilities for general education from those of the several schools or colleges. Any president may well ask whether there should be a dean or director who has primary and final responsibility for the administration of all matters related to general education, that is, curriculum, faculty, budget, and students. A common

alternative is to leave these matters in the hands of the dean of the liberal arts college or, less commonly, to a faculty member who is supposed to provide educational leadership in the absence of real administrative control. Experience dictates that the general education program should have at its head a person definitely charged with administrative responsibilities in regard to courses of study, the selection and promotion of faculty, the preparation of a budget, and the selection and retention of students. Where these matters remain under the jurisdiction of persons whose primary interests are in a more comprehensive unit, a school or college with specialized as well as general instruction, general studies almost always suffer. These statements of principle may mean very little in the abstract, but they acquire real significance in application.

A SEPARATE ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT?

An example will make clear the need for an administrative officer responsible for general education. First, in regard to the teaching staff, it can be said that general education, like all other types of instruction, succeeds or fails to the extent that good or poor teachers are giving the courses. Unfortunately, most persons even within the same subject-matter field do not teach different courses equally well. Members of the staff who may be expert in advanced specialized instruction may be quite ineffective in elementary courses for non-major students. Though teachers who do *not* know their subject well *cannot* teach effectively, it does not follow that those who do can.

Hence a selection of teachers whose knowledge, interests, and professional objectives predispose them toward competence in general courses must be made by a person or group genuinely interested in the success of such courses. Administrators whose first loyalty and primary interest gravitate toward specialized courses in the upper divisions of the liberal arts college, or in the professional schools, do not generally give adequate care to the selection of faculty for the special purposes of general studies. When their attitudes are hostile, the situation is hopeless, regardless of faculty interest. Hence it is essential that some administrative officer have specific responsibility for faculty recruitment and welfare in connection with the general education program. This officer should be prepared to advocate promotions and increases in salary for the members of the general education staff under his jurisdiction, just as deans of the several other colleges represent their faculties in the determination of rank, salary, and the other perquisites of teaching. Experience shows without question that the general education program usually suffers under any other administrative arrangement.

THE NEED FOR ADMINISTRATIVE INTEGRATION

It does not follow, however, that this autonomous administration requires organic separation of the general college program from all other units in the institution. An administrative policy which permits the head of general studies to engage staff without regard to the needs or opinions of other administrative officers who preside over units which students enter after having completed their basic general requirements is unwise and self-defeating. Such a practice often leads to debilitating interdepartmental conflicts. It jeopardizes the status and the professional future of young faculty members. It often dams up the flow of new knowledge and intellectual stimulation from advanced instruction and research into gen-

eral courses. And, in the long run, it arouses animosities and divisiveness which, except under the strongest central administration, will eventually undermine the entire general education effort.

In one large university in which the general education program was placed under a completely separate academic and budgetary administration, an immense amount of pulling and hauling occurred between the teachers in the lower college and those in the upper college, the graduate divisions, and the professional schools. Mutual stimulation, which is the life blood of the academic organism, was greatly curtailed, the benefits of research activities were minimized, and the conditions of life were made less pleasant than should be the case in academic communities. It is no exaggeration to say that many of the teachers of advanced students looked upon those in the general college as a lower form of academic life. And the most regrettable feature of this dramatic situation was the eroding of the foundation of the general education program which began as soon as the chief administrative officer (whose power had maintained the program) left the institution. It appears that a battle was brilliantly won but a war ineptly lost.

To be sure, the general program needs strong central administrative support and a large amount of self-determination. Dr. James B. Conant, recognizing the many strong forces in the academic political system which militate against those who take an interest in general education, advocated to the Board of Harvard University the setting aside of 10 million dollars for the salaries of those who gave a large portion of their time and energy to the teaching of general courses. Yet he would be the first to defend the Harvard practice of enlisting the most renowned scholars in the teaching staff of the general education program and not separating this program from the nourishing influences of those who give advanced instruction.

The ideal administrative arrangement appears to be one in which many of those who are responsible to the head of the general education program for certain instruction are also responsible to the head of another division of the institution for other teaching or research. Under this arrangement, instructors teach both general and specialized courses each academic year, though the proportion of each may vary from time to time. The allocation of teaching, or for that matter of research responsibilities, then becomes a combined undertaking on the part of two or more administrative officers. The general courses flourish best when some of these joint assignments involve a dean of one of the professional schools.

EXPERIENCE IN ENGINEERING

One of the most significant statements in the recent report "General Education in Engineering," a superlatively good educational treatise, is the opinion that the general education program is most effective and most enduringly grounded in those institutions where faculty members from the liberal arts colleges and the engineering schools developed the courses jointly. This judgment ought to be instructive to all who plan and administer general education in multi-purpose institutions. Where men and women teach both general and advanced liberal arts courses or give professional instruction, administrative relationships are more complicated but the end result is usually better. To be sure, since two or more human beings have to combine their judgments about a teacher's value, about his readiness for promotion or raise in salary, sometimes chief administrative officers

will have to intervene to protect those who serve primarily in a general college. The outcomes of this more complicated system are superior to those in a system where a general education unit exists by and for itself.

It is sometimes argued that unless the director of the general education program has full and sole responsibility for the rank and salary of the members of his staff, the latter will suffer in both respects. It is true that in present academic society, department heads and deans customarily urge preferred treatment for those members of the staff who teach advanced students, do the most acceptable research, and produce the largest bundle of publications. It is also true in some institutions that if the heads of departments have final authority, they will assign the younger and less able teachers (not necessarily the same persons) to the general education courses. The cure for this situation is not the establishment of a separate faculty even at equal salaries and rank, but the establishment of the concept that the general courses deserve the same quality of teaching as the others. This can be achieved most lastingly by inducing as many as possible of the ranking members of the faculty to take an interest in general studies. It should be added parenthetically that the influence of the president is crucial in this situation. In fact, it is a defensible generalization from experience in many institutions that without the support of the central administration no satisfactory program of general education can be established or maintained.

Another serious administrative problem arises out of the very purposes of general education. By definition general education provides experiences which students ought to have in common, regardless of their vocational or other life objectives. That is, the general courses should introduce the student to the key ideas in the various subject-matter areas, give him an opportunity to master the intellectual methodologies and skills employed by scholars in these disciplines, and cultivate the attitudes and values which characterize a liberally educated mind. Those who successfully pursue such instruction should be able to communicate with one another about the common problems of contemporary life. They ought to stand on common intellectual and cultural ground. It has been argued by many, therefore, that all should have identical experiences in the general education program; that is, they should take a sequence of courses in the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities which are as much alike in content and method as human variations among teachers permit. Indeed, early efforts to organize a general program of studies—for example, the survey courses at the University of Chicago and at Colgate—rested almost entirely on the principle that all students should pursue identical instruction.

UNIFORM OR VARIED APPROACHES TO GENERAL EDUCATION

There is something to be said in favor of this uniform approach to the goals of general education. It represents a justifiable substitute for the chaos of the elective system, or even the distribution system, under which two graduates from the same liberal arts college might have only a dozen hours of instruction in common. On the other hand, students ought to be able to reach clearly identified educational goals through many avenues. The intellectual skills, the methods, many of the main ideas, and the ideals of the scientists can be acquired through varied scientific study. Likewise, the characteristics and

the values of great literature, the vicarious experiences which it provides, the standards of judgment which it cultivates can be made available to students through the study of a variety of literary works. It follows, then, that opportunity should be provided, within the limits of cooperatively derived and generally approved objectives, for the individual teacher to develop alternative types of instruction to the same ends. Under the latter plan of curricular organization, it is feasible for several instructors or groups to devise varied courses made up of somewhat different subject matter, experiments, and methods of investigation, all of which would achieve essentially the same goals of general education in natural science. The same can be done in the humanities and the social sciences.

FREEDOM TO EXPERIMENT

One of the advantages in this loosely federated republic of letters is that it provides many of the freedoms of experimentation and teaching which attract people to the profession and sustain their interests in it. Another advantage lies in the intellectual adventure this freedom provides and the educational responsibility it imposes, both of which are largely missing in a rigidly prescribed curriculum pattern. Moreover, such a system offers opportunity for experimentation with various types of subject matter and method that is the only real guarantee of advancement in education at any level. Teachers feel free to improvise new teaching procedures to meet the needs of different classes, grades, and interests among students. If, however, this system of personal freedom and initiative is to operate effectively and with a minimum of abuse from those who wish to ride their own intellectual hobbyhorses or exploit their own special academic interests, certain administrative checks are needed. There must be approval of the course content by a faculty committee and the administration, and some common method of measuring the results of instruction.

EVALUATION IN GENERAL EDUCATION

Evaluation is one of the most important administrative problems in general education. If there is to be larger freedom for the individual instructor in the organization and presentation of subject matter, there must concomitantly be a valid measure of the results. The common pattern of evaluation in recent years has been a battery of objective tests uniformly administered. This type of evaluation is the natural, if not the necessary, accompaniment of the standardized curriculum. Enormous advances have been made in the past twenty years in the development and validation of testing instruments that can be used to appraise the outcomes of general education. It has become possible to compare the achievement not only of individual students but also of different classes and of different institutions. Much good has come from the use of those objective tests, the better of which assess intellectual processes other than those of rote learning, memory, and identical reproduction of ideas and processes. The more recent of such tests also measure the ability to use various intellectual skills, to see relationships, to deduce, to infer, to compare, and to reach valid conclusions. These tests will continue to serve valuable purposes.

Experimentation is needed now, however, with types of evaluation of changes in student behavior that have to do with personality, value systems, continuing interest in intellectual things, and personal adjustment. One of the most discouraging reports of recent years is that made

by Professor Philip Jacob of the University of Pennsylvania, in which he reviewed a number of researches on students' values and their modification during the college years. This is not the place to review these findings in detail. It is enough to point out that few substantial changes in values were discovered. In view of the preoccupation of many teachers with subject matter; in view of the inflexible determination of the modern scholar, even in the humanities, to avoid evaluative judgments in his teaching; and in view of the problems of mass education with which many institutions are confronted, the results in the Jacob report are perhaps not surprising. To those, however, who see in education something more than the teaching and the learning of facts uncolored by any consideration of the larger purposes of life, of the philosophic system in which the facts are intermeshed, or of the influences of extra-class activities, these findings are profoundly disturbing. On the basis of a priori reasoning rather than experimental evidence, they suggest, first, that our educational objectives may be too narrow and perhaps too vague and, second, that our instruments of evaluation are in serious need of evaluation.

It would seem desirable to supplement the present battery of objective tests by other forms of instruments, such as rating scales, faculty opinion, and essay-type statements, which involve the marshalling of evidence and precise expression, and actual performance. Just what these forms of appraisal would reveal concerning the intellectual, aesthetic, and social growth of students cannot now be determined with any exactness. But that they might reveal evidence that would cause basic changes in curriculum organization and teaching method is clear. In any event, a dynamic program of general education ought to provide for freedom of evaluating as well as for freedom of teaching.

ARTICULATION WITH ADVANCED INSTRUCTION

A final administrative and organizational problem has to do with the articulation of the basic general courses and advanced instruction in the same or related disciplines. Until the general education movement was launched, curricula in colleges and universities were organized on the assumption (tacit or expressed) that instruction should be organized as a sequence of courses beginning with elementary or introductory *this or that* and extended through the most advanced reaches of the subject. In a sense, each student in elementary zoology was treated as a future research specialist in that or a related field such as medicine. That only a small, sometimes negligible, percentage ever reached the goal or even finished a college program of any kind did not weigh heavily with the curriculum makers. As curricula in liberal arts expanded under the pressure of new knowledge and the special interests of research scholars, increasing attempts were made to crowd more and more preparatory material into the first course. The student who desired, or under the distribution system was expected to have, a broad liberal education achieved this goal by assembling in his record a collection of unrelated courses introductory to advanced instruction which except in his major field of interest he seldom pursued. This practice was justified by the statement that, to get his teeth into a subject, the student had to have advanced courses and that learning could only take place when the logic of the subject was completely developed step by step. The first of these views leads one to observe that since in any but the major subject

the student did not advance beyond the introductory course, he must have had a poor intellectual diet. The second rested on a false psychology of learning which emphasized the acquisition of small elements of knowledge rather than the understanding of the interrelationships of discrete experiences through generalizations.

In any event, it is now the opinion of many leaders in the various disciplines, as for example Dr. Sidney J. French and Dr. James B. Conant in science, that a general course in science not only acquaints the student with the evolution of the scientific enterprise but perhaps more efficiently than the first course in one of the sciences, such as physics and chemistry, gives him a broader and firmer knowledge of science—the intellectual skills and the attitudes toward natural phenomena which make possible a rational interpretation of reality. The same can be said for the humanities where superficial surveys of English literature from Beowulf to Hardy have been displaced by an exhaustive treatment of a few pieces of great literature. It is interesting to observe that these developments have followed a course laid down by President Lowell of Harvard in a letter to W. J. V. Osterhout in 1909. He wrote:

> It seems to me that one of the crying needs we have is general, as distinguished from merely introductory courses; courses which will give to the men who propose to go no further and whose pursuits will lie in other lines, such a general knowledge and interest in a subject as every cultivated man ought to possess; the kind of knowledge that will always be making him learn more. . . .

The general course, if properly constructed, can stand on its own feet. It is, however, different from the first course which launches the student on a career in one of the disciplines. How, then, are the general courses to be articulated with the advanced for those who wish to go on? This is a troublesome problem, but it can be solved. Fundamental in the solution, however, must be the concept that institutions of higher education have a responsibility to students who wish to become more enlightened citizens as well as to those who aim to become specialists. It is not unfair, therefore, to propose that instead of constructing general courses to articulate easily with advanced courses in related fields for the relatively small percentage of future majors, effort should be made to reconstruct second and third courses to articulate with the courses which the non-specialist students have in common.

There is no one easy or correct way to bring general courses and advanced specialized courses into nice articulation. One device has been to exempt from a given general area such as natural science those who definitely know they are going to specialize in a scientific field such as engineering, medicine, or physics. This arrangement has some disadvantages. In the first place, it really skirts the problem of articulation. But, secondly, many students do not know when they enroll what their major interests are, and even those who have an opinion often change it in the college course. Furthermore, the coverage of subject matter and skills is narrower in one science than in several. Students who have had many courses in physics may have had none in geology, zoology, or astronomy, and sometimes even little instruction in chemistry. The same narrowness can be found in other fields. Lastly, the general course in science, as Dr. Conant points out, is not the same intellectual experience, or shouldn't be, as the introductory course is in a specific field.

The resolution of this annoying prob-

lem, which is acute with transfer students, must be delayed until we have more valid measures of achievement in the various fields of knowledge. When the faculties are satisfied with the available instruments of evaluation, the solution will lie in an examination program in which the student can satisfy the general education requirement at any time, even at admission, by passing the appropriate tests. Until then certain mechanical expedients will have to be used in most institutions, such as allowing future engineers to begin the study of mathematics and science with the usual elementary instruction in these fields. In the case of transfer students, rough equivalences will have to be accepted in the various broad subject areas. Enterprising faculties will, however, take the only reasonable step by recognizing the value of the general first course and reorganizing later instruction in such ways as to preserve the values inherent in the general course without repeating the knowledge, principles, and skills in advanced teaching. It will then be possible for our institutions of higher education to serve both the specialist and the average intelligent citizen who wants to, and should, know something about the varied aspects of the complex world in which he lives.

To achieve this objective, those who give general courses and those who teach advanced students will have to work cooperatively and harmoniously toward the development of a rounded program of higher education suitable for all without penalizing either the future professional practitioner or the average citizen.

There are other administrative and organizational problems in general education, such as the proper integration of various subject matters within a given course, consideration of which would unnecessarily extend the present discussion. It should be apparent that the administration of a general education program, or any other education effort, can make it succeed or fail regardless of its merits. It should also be clear that faculties ought to have full opportunity to discuss the problems of organization and administration. This does not mean administration by committees, which is always inefficient and ineffective. It does mean that a steady flow of advice and suggestions between faculty and administration can remove misunderstanding, enliven interest in general education, improve morale among those who teach, and, most important of all, guarantee that the program will endure and be improved in accordance with new knowledge and new conceptions of general education in a dynamic, democratic society.

The Outlook for College Teachers*

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ONLY the expanding number of children to be taught in the elementary schools has been more widely publicized than the need for competent teachers at all levels—elementary, secondary, and higher—in the American educational system. Not so well known, however, are *(a)* the sources from which recently employed new college teachers have come; *(b)* their sex; *(c)* their distribution among the teaching fields; and, perhaps most important, *(d)* their competence for the teaching assignments they undertake. The purpose of this discussion is to point up certain findings of a recently completed study of college-teacher supply and demand by the Research Division of the National Education Association in which these and similar questions were explored.[1]

Researchers in this field find very few benchmarks from which trends can be traced. And the problem is further complicated by the absence of any established criterion for the identification of a "qualified" candidate for college teaching. An acceptable applicant in one institution may not be so considered in another. Requirements also vary among departments, and even among specific subjects, in the same institution. Employing officials on some eighteen hundred campuses are at liberty to exercise individual judgments, and to accede to or resist the exigencies of the moment. Perhaps nowhere else is the independence of the individual institution in American higher education better illustrated than in the selection of appointees to the instructional staff. It has not seemed possible, therefore, to identify a group in the general population which comprises the new "supply" of college teachers, as has been done at the elementary and secondary school levels.

For each of the past ten years the school superintendents have been advised early in March of the approximate number of persons who would become eligible for the standard teaching certificate by the following September, separately by grade level and by teaching field. The employer of college teachers, on the other hand, has no advance inkling of the occupational ambitions or the teaching qualifications of persons about to graduate at the master's and doctor's degree levels. Until recently, in fact, there has been little or no information regarding the extent to which students fresh from the graduate schools should be depended

* Dr. Maul conducted the nation-wide study of college and university teachers' salaries published by the NEA Research Division in October, 1956. He developed the annual national study of teacher supply and demand at the elementary and secondary school level, now in its tenth year.

[1] National Education Association, Research Division, *Teacher Supply and Demand in Colleges and Universities, 1955-56 and 1956-57* (Washington, D.C., The Association, 1957), 76 pages. Single copies will be sent free upon request.

upon as a major source of the needed supply of new college teachers.

A further complication facing the researcher is the widely varying extent to which colleges and universities make use of part-time instructional personnel. Circumstances, not professional standards, sometimes dictate the use of many part-time persons in the college classroom. The presence of graduate students on a university campus, for example, is usually regarded as a rich resource. To date, little or nothing has been learned about the fitness of a good many of these students for the teaching assignments they assume, or even about their interest in classroom service as more than a means to an end. In fact, no way has been devised to count the number of persons who do part-time college teaching while engaged in something quite different as a major occupation. Certainly the use of part-time instructional personnel is not to be condemned, but the tools for measuring either the qualifications or the available number of this group do not seem to be at hand. It is likely, however, that the practice of employing individuals who can spare only part of their time for college teaching will steadily expand.

AN EARLY POSTWAR STUDY

Early in World War II Earl E. Mosier, then a member of the Research and Service Commission of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, undertook a regional investigation of certain staff problems at the higher education level. In the late forties, under the sponsorship of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, he developed the basis for a national study which, unhappily, was not continued.[2] Mosier pointed up the new dimensions of the staffing problem which confronted institutions of higher education as a consequence of the rush of veterans supported by Public Law 346. The conditions he reported were generally considered to be only temporary, however, and the anticipated "return to normal" was expected to bring the supply of new college teachers into balance with the demand. Not even the most skillful "crystal-gazer" foresaw, in the 1946-1950 era, the continuing nature of the staffing problem, and the sponsorship of Mosier's efforts was not extended, despite the foundations he had laid for a periodic study.

THE RECENT PAST

Since the future supply of college teachers is not readily identifiable, a look at the newly employed teachers during the past few years should be meaningful. This is the group which comprised the "supply" insofar as the demands of the institutions were met. In such a study it is necessary, of course, to rule out completely the teacher who changes from one college teaching position to another. These teachers do not constitute a supply, nor do they satisfy a demand; they do no more than shift the demand from the positions they enter to the positions they vacate. Throughout the following discussion, therefore, the "new" college teacher will be regarded as one who *did not occupy a full-time college or university teaching position the preceding year.*

In a study reported by the NEA Research Division in December 1955,[3] the

[2] Earl E. Mosier, *College Teacher Supply and Demand in the United States: Report for the 1948-49 School Year* (Washington, D. C.; National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards of the National Education Association, 1950), 23 pages.

[3] National Education Association, Research Division, "Teacher Supply and Demand in Degree-Granting Institutions, 1954-55." *Research Bulletin* 34: 4, December 1955, 40 pages.

new full-time teachers employed in 1953-54 and 1954-55 were identified in a representative number of colleges and universities. They were reported separately by teaching field and by type of employing institution. Each new teacher in one of these subgroups was shown to be at one of these four levels of preparation: (1) holder of an earned doctor's degree, (2) had completed one year of graduate work beyond the master's degree, (3) had a master's degree, or (4) had less than a master's degree. The report indicated also the sources from which these new teachers had come.

The intent of that study was to establish a two-year base of information so that subsequent studies, if made biennially in an identical pattern, would reveal trends contributing to a clearer understanding of the college teacher supply-demand problem. The study just completed by the NEA Research Division and reported in November, 1957 is a second step in the cycle.[4] Within the same framework it presents data concerning the new full-time teachers employed in 1955-56 and 1956-57.

The picture is not encouraging. During the first of the four years studied, 1953-54, no less than 31.4 per cent of the new full-time college teachers inducted into service held the earned doctor's degree. Of those employed the following year 28.4 per cent were at this level of preparation, but of the group employed in 1955-56 only 26.7 per cent had attained doctoral status, and of those employed in 1956-57, *only 23.5 per cent had done so.*

At the other end of the preparation scale—those not having the master's degree—the picture is even darker. In 1953-54 only 18.2 per cent of the newly employed full-time college teachers entered service without the master's degree, but in 1954-55 it was 19.3 per cent, in 1955-56 it was 20.1 per cent, and last year, no less than 23.1 per cent. Thus in a four-year period the holders of the doctor's degree among newly employed full-time college teachers have decreased 25.2 per cent, and those entering service without the master's degree have increased 26.9 per cent.

These figures take on added meaning, of course, when they are applied to the new teachers entering the various fields of instruction. Some areas have suffered much more than others. Below are listed the principal fields of instruction, with the per cent of doctor's degree holders among the new full-time teachers employed in 1953-54 and in 1956-57:

Field of Instruction	Per Cent Holding Doctor's Degree	
	Employed in 1953-54	*Employed in 1956-57*
Psychology	68.4	55.3
Biological sciences	54.5	51.2
Physical sciences	53.0	43.7
Social sciences	42.4	33.7
Education	36.5	31.4
Foreign languages	36.3	27.9
Agriculture	34.9	23.8
Mathematics	34.2	20.5
Health sciences	34.2	22.8
English	29.0	17.7
Business and commerce	21.4	8.8
Home economics	21.0	6.0
Engineering	15.9	11.1
Fine arts	12.2	9.8
Physical and health education	10.3	5.0
Total*	31.4	23.5

* Includes seven fields not listed above because small numbers of new teachers were reported.

[4] National Education Association, Research Division, *Teacher Supply and Demand in Colleges and Universities, 1955-56 and 1956-57.* (Washington, D. C. The Association, 1957), 76 pages.

Another view of recent developments comes to light through the field-by-field employment of new teachers not yet holding the master's degree. Of those employed in 1956-57 to teach engineering, 54.8 per cent were at this modest level of preparation; to teach agriculture, 42.7 per cent; mathematics, 27.0 per cent; business and commerce, 26.9 per cent; home economics, 25.6 per cent; physical sciences, 18.4 per cent. And the reader is reminded that this report is concerned only with *full-time* teachers; persons employed on a part-time basis are completely excluded.

Still another view of the current situation is revealed through the employment practices of the several types of institutions. Here are the per cents at the high and low levels of preparation:

Type of Institution	Per Cent of New Full-Time Teachers Employed in 1956-57 with *Less than Doctor's Degree*	*Master's Degree*
State universities	24.8	27.8
Nonpublic universities	32.5	19.2
Municipal universities	25.7	24.3
Land-grant colleges	21.1	33.2
State colleges	24.7	13.3
Teachers colleges	15.7	14.9
Nonpublic colleges:		
Over 1,000 enrollment	23.0	22.2
500-999	18.4	19.4
Under 500	19.9	28.4
Total	23.5	23.1

An earlier report[8] showed that, of the *total* full-time staff in service in 1953-54, as many as 40.5 per cent held the doctor's degree and only 10.4 per cent were below the master's degree level. Nonpublic universities were high, with 51.9 per cent of all full-time teachers holding the doctor's degree, and teachers colleges were low, with only 29.9 per cent. The 1956-57 employment record indicates a widening of this gap; about one in every three new full-time teachers in the nonpublic universities holds the doctor's degree, while scarcely one in six entering full-time service in teachers colleges does so. Two mitigating factors, however, must be recognized. One is the fact that teachers colleges (along with state colleges) have the smallest per cent of full-time staff members below the master's degree level and employed the smallest per cent in 1956-57. The other is the fact that teachers colleges resort to no more than incidental use of part-time teachers, while the complex institutions of all types make generous use of such persons. Since comparable data on the preparation of part-time teachers are not at hand, the spread in the quality of the total instructional service may not be so wide as would at first appear to be the case.

[8] National Education Association, Research Division, "Instructional Staff Practices and Policies in Degree-Granting Institutions, 1953-54." *Research Bulletin*, December 1954. 60 pages.

SOURCES OF NEW TEACHERS

Many, perhaps most, college teachers who are new to their present positions come from similar service in another college or university. The problem under consideration here, however, is not teacher turnover. Thus, *another full-time college teaching position is not a possible source of a new teacher.* Attention here is focused upon individuals who came from outside the full-time corps in service the preceding year.

The limited evidence at hand shows that, while about half of all new teachers are coming directly from the graduate schools, the trend is down—51.5 per cent in 1953-54 and 1954-55, and 45.2 per cent in 1955-56 and 1956-57. But the trend is up in the employment of persons from

other kinds of educational service, particularly high school teaching. During the past two years 13.8 per cent of all new full-time college teachers came directly from high school teaching positions. Teachers colleges drew most heavily from this source—37.6 per cent—while one in five new teachers in state colleges and one in six employed by the nonpublic colleges stepped up from high school classrooms. Nonpublic universities, on the other hand, took only 6.6 per cent of their new teachers from this source.

Other types of educational service also contributed. From school administration came 2.7 per cent of the new college teachers; from junior college teaching, 2.6 per cent; from elementary school teaching 1.3 per cent; from other miscellaneous educational services, 4.7 per cent. In total, one of every four new college teachers comes from some other educational work.

Recruits from business occupations increased from 10.4 per cent of all new full-time teachers in 1953-54 and 1954-55 to 13.5 per cent during the two more recent years. All of the complex institutions rank higher than any of the colleges in attracting new teachers from the noneducational occupations.

In every type of institution the shortage of fully qualified candidates is further emphasized by the employment of persons directly from the preceding bachelor's degree class in meaningful numbers.

AVAILABILITY OF NEW DOCTOR'S DEGREE GRADUATES

Of first concern to all employers of college teachers, of course, is the availability of candidates with comprehensive preparation—holders of the doctor's degree. While possession of this degree does not bespeak the competent college teacher per se, and while many excellent teachers have not attained doctoral status, the unavoidable fact remains that the quality of an entire faculty is judged by the extent of each staff member's formal preparation. This is the one single criterion at hand for immediate and easy application. It is to be expected, then, that employing officials would rank the possession of a doctor's degree high on the list of desirable qualifications.

But what is happening occupationally to the persons earning this degree? The number to graduate at the doctorate level has risen steadily, from the low of 2,000 in 1946 to the substantial number of almost 9,000 in 1954.[6] On the surface it would seem that this annual production would go far toward meeting the needs of all institutions of higher education. The two-way catch, of course, is that (1) other occupations are rapidly stepping up their demands for comprehensively trained personnel, and (2) the doctor's degree graduates entering college instructional service are not distributed among the teaching fields according to the need for them.

The current situation is shown in the figure on page 154. Of those receiving the doctor's degree in 1955 and 1956, about two of every five are already fully engaged in occupations in which they continue at work. True, a good many of these are serving as college teachers, but their graduation does not add to the reservoir of new supply; they are already consumed, occupationally speaking.

Thus a year's gross production of doc-

[6] This annual increase was interrupted by a slight drop in 1955, but the increase was resumed in 1956, to just over 9,000 for the first time. This is in contrast to a three-year decline (1951 to 1954) in the number of master's degrees granted, and a five-year decline (1950-1955) in the number of bachelor's degrees granted.

toral graduates is reduced from 9,000 to fewer than 6,000 actually available. But here again the two-in every-five formula is in operation. Only about 3,500 enter educational service, while other occupations, with attractive salary offers, claim the remaining 2,500. College teaching, of course, claims most of those entering educational work, but some enter the employ of school systems, while others go into administration, and still others enter the service of educational agencies and associations.

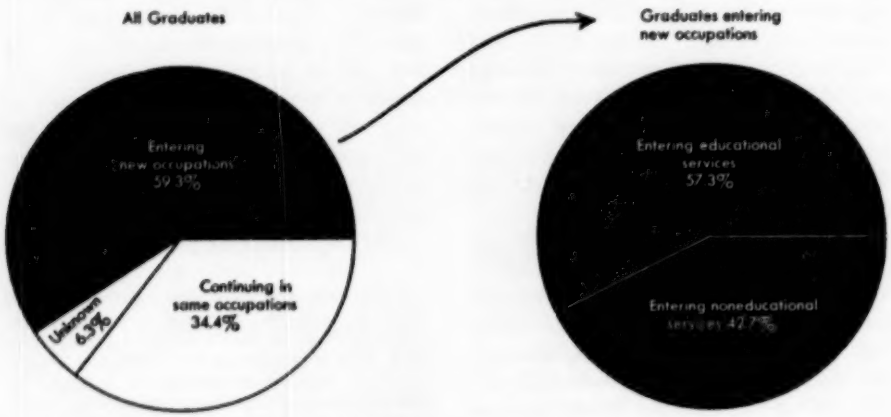
Even yet, however, the handicaps of the college employing official are not shown in full. In some fields, although the number of graduates is considerable, industry all but robs the teaching profession. The extreme case is chemistry, the field in which the greatest number of doctor's degrees are granted annually. Of the total, only about one in eight is already fully employed; most of them are in full-time study right up to the date of graduation. At that moment, however, all kinds of educational service, *including college teaching, can do no better than to capture one in four of these emerging graduates in chemistry.*

The situation is almost as bad in physics; seven of eight are available at the time of graduation, but three of every five enter a noneducational occupation. In mathematics three of four are available when the degree is conferred and about two of every three enter educational service. Small wonder that the higher educational institutions have difficulty in producing the number of scientists and engineers needed in America today!

TWO CLASSES OF INSTITUTIONS

Even yet, the dilemma of the college employing officer is not told in full. On some one hundred university campuses, with graduate students immediately at hand, recruitment of future college teachers can be conducted on a person-to-person basis. Good prospects can be identified early; interest in teaching can be stimulated; challenging tryout experiences can be provided; employment at graduation can become a matter of mutual understanding. Only a precaution against

OCCUPATIONS OF DOCTOR'S DEGREE GRADUATES OF 1954-55 AND 1955-56*



* Based on reports from 117 of 146 institutions granting this degree.

excessive inbreeding of the staff can limit the advantage of the institution which is itself the producer of the new supply. And even so, informal trading with similarly advantaged institutions is not too difficult.

But what of the one thousand-odd colleges (and, of course, some five hundred junior colleges) which do not themselves produce graduates with the doctor's degree or even with the master's degree? Are they to be pushed toward the status of second-class institutions? Is a sharper division of the higher educational institutions on the basis of quality of instructional staffs in the offing? Will we, in the next decade, see a concentration of the comprehensively prepared instructional personnel in a relatively few institutions, with a vast majority of the others condemned to steady deterioration in the scholarship of their staffs?

The evidence is strong that this tragedy is already upon us. The NEA Research Division report is based on information submitted by 829 of 1,017 colleges and universities constituting the core of higher education in the nation. The reporting institutions employ 99,174 full-time and 39,119 part-time teachers and enroll 1,362,391 full-time and 443,491 part-time students. That these reporting institutions are fully representative of the higher education structure in America can hardly be denied.

The number of teachers new to their positions in these institutions is not known. It is likely that in some cases a majority of those joining a staff last year came from the staffs of other colleges. Such promotional opportunities are, of course, one of the attractions of the teaching profession and are to be encouraged. But these 829 reporting institutions assumed the responsibility for inducting into full-time teaching service 6,337 "new" teachers in 1955-56 and 8,308 in 1956-57. These 14,645 came from outside the total corps of teachers in service the preceding year. Of the group inducted into service in 1955-56, exactly 26.7 per cent held the earned doctor's degree; 17.8 per cent were one year beyond the master's degree; 35.4 per cent held the master's degree; 20.1 per cent were below the master's degree level. Just one year later these per cents were 23.5, 18.1, 35.3, and 23.1.

Four years ago, of the total staff in service, 40.5 per cent held the doctor's degree and only 10.4 per cent were below the master's degree. But among the new group inducted last year fewer than one-fourth are at the top and almost one-fourth are at the bottom of this four-step preparation scale. And yet, among the 829 reporting institutions, one great university employed 81 new teachers and another employed 62 new teachers during the past two years and *every one of these 143 new teachers held the doctor's degree!*

Will this concentration of the most comprehensively prepared teachers in a few institutions go on at a continuously accelerating pace? If so, what are the implications for the future? Are we, indeed, on the threshold of an era in which a second-class education will be the lot of that vast group of young men and women soon to crowd the campuses of the nation?

University Extension Centers in Higher Education*

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For about seventy-five years universities have made serious efforts to meet the needs of off-campus persons for higher education. One of the consequences has been the establishment of extension centers. These are defined here as off-campus locations at which universities provide physical facilities, some full-time personnel, and selected educational programs for persons not utilizing campus resources.

The demand for extension-center services has reached a new high. In 1952, twenty-two universities were found to be operating ninety-four centers serving about 200,000 persons. In 1956, thirty universities in twenty-seven states were operating 139 centers serving about 300,000 persons. Since centers have grown fastest during times of educational stress, they probably will continue to increase in importance during the next few years as they are used to relieve enrollment pressures on parent institutions.

LOWER-DIVISION EDUCATION

A large part of the uncertainty concerning the role of extension centers revolves about their responsibility for services of the junior-college type. It is here that differentiation among functions of the various types of educational institutions is most difficult. While upper-division study is of interest mainly to colleges and universities, lower-division study is of concern not only to degree-granting institutions but also to public school systems, for it is here that higher education meets the continuing upward movement of public education.

Traditionally, higher education has differed in several important respects from public-school education, and these differences seem to lie at the heart of the controversy concerning education at the junior-college level. The public schools are open to everyone, and compulsory attendance laws are imposed on all youth of public-school age. Higher institutions, on the other hand, are generally selective, and of course compulsory attendance laws do not apply to their clientele. Public schools are controlled and operated by local boards and are financed by local and state funds, while public higher institutions usually are controlled and operated by state-wide boards and are financed by state funds. Pupils attending public schools live at home, while students attending higher institutions usually live away from home. The public schools are

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geared to local conditions, while higher institutions are geared to state-wide conditions.

Most educational planners contend that education during the two years immediately following high school should be made available to everyone able to profit from it. For this to be accomplished, they contend, education must be provided within commuting distance of potential users, it must be essentially free, and it must consist of a variety of programs to meet specific needs. They maintain that the public-school system satisfies these criteria much more completely than higher institutions and therefore should assume primary responsibility for education at the junior-college level.

Whatever the validity of these contentions may be, it should be recognized that the level of public education is continually rising and that more services must be provided on the junior-college level. During the past century the minimum educational terminal point accepted by the public has risen slowly from the end of the eighth grade of school to the end of the twelfth grade. At present there is widespread demand that the minimum terminal point be raised to the end of the fourteenth year. The time schedule suggested by past educational developments indicates that each upward extension of the public-school system has required a span of fifty to sixty years to come within reach of all persons for whom it has been designed. If this trend continues, free post-high-school education through the fourteenth year for all persons able to profit from it will become a reality well before the end of the present century, and probably during the next twenty-five years.

Whatever the future developments in education may be, it is fairly certain that education during the two years immediately after high school will continue to be provided by lower-division campus programs, by an upward extension of the public school system, and by university off-campus programs. Although colleges, universities, and extension centers now appear to be serving about three-fourths of all persons at the lower-division level, local community colleges will assume constantly increasing responsibility for these services during the years ahead. This means that present emphasis by centers on lower-division programs will slowly decrease. Until adequate systems of community colleges are developed, however, universities will continue to provide extensive lower-division programs both on main campuses and in off-campus divisions. Lower-division programs will comprise only a part of center offerings, but for a time, as at present, they will comprise the major part. When universities endeavor to fulfill the junior-college function, they should provide programs that are sensitive to local conditions, that are within the financial means of as many potential users as possible, and that include terminal as well as regular lower-division studies.

The directions specific universities will take will be determined largely by their past educational experiences and by the educational environments in which they exist. Institutions operating centers in states having few junior colleges probably will expand their center programs at the lower-division level, while those in states with numerous junior colleges either will have few extension centers or will have centers involved primarily with other responsibilities. This means that institutions such as the University of Indiana, Pennsylvania State University, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of Alabama will continue for some time to offer extensive lower-division

programs, while institutions such as the University of Texas, the University of Mississippi, and the University of Florida will have very limited extension-center facilities. Other institutions, such as the University of California and the University of Michigan, will continue to operate off-campus centers, even though numerous junior colleges surround them; but their center services will supplement rather than compete with junior-college programs and will be concentrated mainly on the upper-division and graduate levels.

UPPER-DIVISION EDUCATION

The shift from lower-division studies to higher studies already is taking place. In 1951-52, about 35 per cent of all center courses offered were above the freshman–sophomore level. The University of Tennessee offered nearly two-thirds, the University of Oregon, the University of California, and the University of Mississippi about one-third, and Indiana University about one-fourth of their courses in the upper division. The trend toward upper-division studies was even more evident in a recent announcement from the University of California listing 86 per cent of a total of 187 offerings in the upper division.

At the upper-division level, there is the usual shift of emphasis from liberal arts courses to professional courses. Only 22 per cent of lower-division courses are utilitarian, as against 63 per cent of upper-division courses. Demand is heaviest for courses in business administration, education, and engineering. Since the motivations of about 80 per cent of center enrollees are said to have an occupational basis, centers are placed under a distinct handicap when their programs are restricted to the lower-division level.

The heavy demand of extension-center clientele for professional and semiprofessional services, however, should not blind center personnel to their responsibility for the maintenance of a proper balance between liberal education and utilitarian education. Many of the values of a liberal education seem to attain their highest significance among adults. Personnel of exceptional understanding and skill must be placed in centers if the balance between liberal and utilitarian education is to be maintained.

As the level of study rises, the problem of financial support changes. Centers that attempt to fulfill the junior-college function will find that high fees are more of a barrier to young persons just out of high school than to older persons with substantial incomes and years of employment experience. If centers are to serve this large group of young people, income other than from student fees must be provided. It is quite probable that only centers proposing to fulfill the junior-college function will receive significant public financial support in the foreseeable future. By adjusting their programs to the needs of young people, the centers of the University of Wisconsin and the University of Wyoming already have made considerable headway in obtaining public assistance.

At the upper-division level, some of the special possibilities of extension centers begin to appear. Centers can provide a wide variety of upper-division services for people not reached by campus programs or by community colleges. Nearness to the homes of students is said to be one of the unique features of community colleges; but proximity is equally an asset of extension centers in their operations on a higher level.

GRADUATE STUDY

Extension centers also provide a significant amount of graduate study. In

March, 1956, eighteen of twenty institutions surveyed reported provisions for graduate study in extension centers. Three offered six to seven hours, five offered twelve hours, five offered fifteen to sixteen hours, two offered thirty hours, and three reported no limit on graduate study. This means that fifteen of the twenty permitted half or more of graduate requirements to be satisfied in off-campus centers.

A few institutions permit practically all requirements for the master's degree to be satisfied in off-campus centers. The University of California, for example, offers complete programs in four localities. The University of Michigan offers graduate work with residence credit in Detroit, Grand Rapids, Flint, Saginaw, and Battle Creek and graduate work with extension credit in Escanaba and Traverse City. A complete program in engineering mechanics leading to a master's degree was initiated in Detroit in 1950, and at present a complete program in business administration is being offered.

The entry of large numbers of highly trained persons into business, industry, and government and the establishment of extensive non-university research facilities will continue to provide resources for advanced study in off-campus centers. In 1953, the total cost of scientific research and development was $5.4 billion. Of this amount, the national government provided $2.8 billion, or 51.9 per cent; industry provided $2.4 billion, or 44.4 per cent; education provided $130 million, or 2.4 per cent, and other sources provided $70 million, or 1.3 per cent. Such a situation would seem to be conducive to the establishment of joint advanced programs between educational and noneducational institutions in off-campus as well as campus localities.

RESEARCH

If extension centers are to encounter increasing demands for graduate study in the years ahead, they also will find themselves devoting additional time to ways of making the results of research more useful to larger numbers of people. The enormous impact of the results of research on everyday living accounts for the competition in business and industry for research personnel and practically compels extension centers to accept the diffusion of the results of research as one of their primary functions.

The role of the subject-matter specialist in the Cooperative Extension Service should be examined closely by administrators in general extension. The purpose of the Service is to help rural people use the results of research coming from the agricultural colleges and experiment stations. Subject-matter specialists are employed in such fields as marketing, animal husbandry, dairying, poultry, clothing, and canning. Their duties are to keep informed of research in their respective fields and to interpret the results in simple terms to county agents and to the farm population.

Although extension centers now employ numerous full-time subject-matter specialists, few fill the role of the specialist in agricultural extension. While the primary duty of subject-matter specialists in agricultural extension is to make the results of research more useful to farm people, the primary duty of these specialists in extension centers is to do classroom teaching. This difference of emphasis is not caused by lack of understanding on the part of extension-center personnel. Most would agree that the contributions of specialists in labor relations or mental health might be as valuable as those of specialists in canning or

poultry. The difference results instead from the fact that off-campus centers must derive practically all of their income from their programs. As yet, general-extension personnel have not been able to make their distributive, explanatory, and popularizing services as remunerative as regular classroom teaching. Until public funds are provided, little change can be expected in the efforts of centers to make the results of research more useful to larger numbers of people.

Pending arrival of Utopian conditions under which public funds are provided, extension centers probably will employ three main approaches in their efforts to diffuse the results of research. The first would be to develop more short courses, conferences, and institutes built around problems in which significant research has been done and in which specific groups are interested. The second, closely related to the first, would be to make wider use of faculty members who are competent not only in teaching but also in research. The third would be to devise ways and means for subject-matter specialists on center faculties to devote more time and effort to the task of distributing, explaining, and popularizing the results of research and less to classroom teaching.

If as much effort, time, financial support, and sympathetic understanding were devoted to general extension during the next forty years as have been devoted to agricultural extension during the past forty, improvement in the quality of living among urban people probably would be as significant as that attained in recent years among farm people. Since the nation is in a process of slow transition from rural to urban and from agricultural to nonagricultural status, it seems reasonable to assume that in time increasing emphasis will be placed on making the results of research useful to urban people. In the long run, this could become one of the chief responsibilities of extension centers.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Extension centers also have responsibilities for community improvement. In the past, center activities have been designed mainly for individuals and special groups, but increasing attention is being devoted to matters of community-wide interest. The approach to education through community improvement is based on the assumption that environment affects the development of the individual and that education can be a significant factor in the control of environment, rather than merely a response to change and an aid in adjusting to change.

A number of factors will determine the degree of success attained by extension centers in working with groups on community problems, but three seem to be of special importance. The first is that groups with which centers work must be approached on their own levels and in terms of their recognized interests. The second is that all community resources should be utilized. Community group structure consists not only of easily recognized formal groups but also of numerous informal groups that are indistinguishable except to the skilled observer. Extension centers have had reasonable success with formal groups, but they have had little experience in working with those that are loosely organized and held together mainly by the attraction of personal association. The third is that, as highly organized as communities are, they suffer from a basic weakness growing out of the failure of the majority of people to participate effectively in public affairs. If centers are to attain maximum effec-

tiveness as instruments of community development, they must devise means of working with all elements in the community group structure and of increasing the extent and quality of citizen participation.

The special role of extension centers in community improvement grows out of their intimate relationship with their local communities and out of their access to a wide range of university resources. Centers should exploit their intimate community connections to the end that they may assist individuals and groups to recognize their community needs, analyze their resources, plan for action, and evaluate results. At the same time, they should bring a variety of pertinent university resources to bear on community problems. Because of their identification with universities, this should be easy to achieve. Moreover, center personnel usually are skilled in cutting across departmental lines to obtain particular types and combinations of assistance needed in the solution of community problems. University assistance usually will take the form of factual and procedural information and training in problem-solving processes and techniques.

In the years ahead the focus of attention in extension centers will shift gradually from the individual to the group and to the community, or, more accurately, will be enlarged to place increased emphasis on all three. One result will be a growing concern among center personnel for programs that provide not only knowledge but also action plans for community betterment. Such an enlargement of emphasis will call for center employees with special skills and understanding that few now possess. A beginning has been made with the larger, more easily recognizable community organizations, but effective programs for informal groups and total communities must be developed.

COORDINATION AND CREATION

Extension centers also have a coordinating and creative responsibility. While campus personnel have the final responsibility for academic standards and course content, extension personnel have the responsibility for determining community educational needs and for creating effective situations in which local persons are able and willing to utilize university services. This responsibility often involves the creation of entirely new resources or the adaptation of campus resources to off-campus needs. In order that centers may be more than collections of departmental fragments from parent institutions, extension personnel are responsible for the organization, development, and operation of reasonably well-rounded off-campus programs with an identity of their own. These considerations represent the specific areas in which extension centers have special contributions to make to their parent institutions. The capacities required for the performance of these functions are as distinct and essential to the extension of university resources as are the subject-matter competencies of campus instructional personnel. Failure either of center personnel or of campus personnel to understand and to accept this basic working relationship results in limited off-campus use of university resources.

SPECIAL ROLE OF EXTENSION CENTERS

This enumeration of extension-center activities indicates that centers are engaged in a variety of important educational pursuits but it does not indicate what services, if any, they can provide better than any other type of educational institution. Centers offer extensive programs of the community-college type,

but there is little evidence that they can provide such services more effectively than community colleges. Centers also offer programs of advanced study and of community development, and they are interested in distributing, explaining, and popularizing research; but again there is little evidence that they can provide these services more effectively than state colleges or other degree-granting institutions.

But extension centers do have a special responsibility in higher education. That responsibility arises from the fact that even though programs of community colleges, state colleges, and other higher institutions are just as effective as off-campus programs of universities, they never meet the total need for education. A gap always exists between the amount and kinds of education needed and the amount and kinds provided. There is an average span of about fifty years between the time an educational need is recognized and the time a prototype is created to meet the need. Moreover, the introduction of the prototype usually is followed by about fifteen years of experimental testing and about thirty-five years of diffusion. The average educational system at the mid-point lags about twenty-five years behind the best practice. Since many universities have state-wide responsibilities, they frequently accept as one of their major tasks the reduction of the gap between needed off-campus education and that which is provided, insofar as their basic aims and resources permit.

The special role of extension centers, therefore, might well be to minimize the shifting gap between education that is needed and education that is provided by existing facilities. The gap between needs and available resources exists at all levels, but at present it probably is narrowest at the elementary and high-school levels and widest at the community-college level. It is not only conceivable but also quite probable that fifty years hence the widest gap will have shifted from the lower-division level to a higher level. Because of their connections with universities having state-wide responsibilities, because of their ability to provide selected services of practically all types and levels, and because of their easy adaptability to changing conditions, extension centers are particularly well-suited to this important educational task. By providing as many needed services as the purposes and resources of their parent institutions permit, and at the same time by providing encouragement to the upward movement of the public school system in every way consistent with the public interest, extension centers will play a useful, dignified, and continuing role in higher education.

Social Class in the High School Curriculum*

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TEACHING about social class may become increasingly common in American high school curricula.[1] Articles dealing with the impact of social status on education are numerous. It is of interest that a carefully designed outline for a unit on social class was published some years ago.[2]

However, the moral and prudential arguments offered in support of this development contain serious logical flaws. Furthermore, a decision about curricula must be guided in major degree by substantive evidence as well as other criteria; the practicability of the proposal must be judged in the light of the availability of valid teaching materials suitable for presentation to immature pupils.[3]

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[1] The growing number of dissertations dealing with class and more recently with "the power structure" as these affect local school systems raises basic questions about graduate instruction also. Advisers of graduate students in education might wisely await more consensus within sociology about stratification before borrowing immature notions as bases for educational research.

[2] A. Frazier, "Shall We Teach the Status System?" *School Review*, 55:93-98, 1947.

[3] The balance of professional sociological judgment about our stratification system is quite different today from what it was even ten years ago. Textbooks and lower-school curricula are likely to be based on obsolete theory in so rapidly changing an area.

THE AFFIRMATIVE CASE

Perhaps the firmest basis for the proposed innovation in high school curricula lies in the undeniable importance of social status in American society and in the obvious effects on the individual's life of his place in society. It is an obligation of the schools, proponents would say, to orient children by giving them an understanding of this central feature of their society.

Since knowledge should be functional, youth ought to be assisted to adjust realistically to our social order. It is assumed that formal exposition of the nature of the class system will facilitate that adjustment. Such study, some would say, will inoculate children against shock when they meet the more oppressive features of status in their later careers.

A few advocates would try to give youth a conscious skill in manipulating the class system, thereby, it is assumed, helping them in advancing their careers. At a minimum, they will learn how useful education can be in aiding upward mobility.

Finally, there are educators who wish to use the schools for transforming society and who believe that an awareness among youth of the nature of the class system might expedite this change. They hold that in this way a new generation would be motivated to eliminate the crasser features of the status system.

There are other, less central arguments. Materials about social class are dramatic and "realistic." This topic can be used as the theme for investigation of the children's own community. For some teachers the new topic will provide, for the first time, a coherent structure around which to organize social studies courses.

LOGICAL MERITS OF PROPOSAL

Even before considering the substantive materials available for teaching units on social stratification one may examine the logic of the position—recognizing, however, that logical validity cannot be the determining factor in what is inescapably a moral decision.

It is clear that secondary schools can hardly undertake to offer systematic instruction about every important element in our society. Lack of time, refractoriness of the materials, or an ill-prepared teaching corps may necessitate omission of many important topics except in a few schools.

Unfortunately, realistic adjustment of youth to life is not necessarily fostered by classroom instruction. The devotion of teaching time to creating awareness of social conditions is little assurance of individual adjustment to society. Are textbook lessons in physiology more likely to produce hygienic living or hypochondria?

A truly awkward difficulty lies in the failure of the various arguments regarding adjustment to run in the same direction. To cushion children against shock when they become aware of how the status system presses upon them does not call for the same classroom approach as teaching them to utilize the status practices for private advancement. Furthermore, neither of these sorts of adaptation fits very well with the goal of diminishing class distinctions.

In the last analysis, one's judgment as to the optimum adjustment to the status system depends upon what one assumes the nature of that system to be. The prudential judgment presupposes, though it is not bound by, decisions as to the "facts" of stratification and the suitability of the subject-matter materials. Are the facts well enough known to assure us that we will not be teaching primarily things that are not so? This is a major problem with many facets, and may be a decisive factor in policy decisions.

BALANCE OF PRUDENTIAL JUDGMENTS

A practical decision about curriculum obviously is governed by the level of schooling under consideration. In the senior college one assumes stress will lie mainly upon knowledge, with minor attention to value judgments. At the secondary or lower levels emphasis may well be upon values and utility in daily life, with less attention to facts. The junior college falls midway.

Availability of teachers capable of handling the new teaching units could be a decisive consideration. It happens that the bulk of reliable literature about social class has been published in recent years and in specialized technical journals. Few teachers have had the opportunity to read this material; presentations in introductory sociology texts are often remote from research findings. Much of this material must be translated into lay language. This obstacle is less important in established disciplines that have been core subjects in teacher training. Anyone who endeavors to put some of the research reports on stratification into plain language can grasp this problem,[4] but he

[4] Critical readers discover that much of the most readable and most often quoted material on this topic is ambiguous.

must be blessed with both knowledge and wisdom to discourse about stratification to adults. The lamentable state of secondary school work in economics and sociology should make us pause before undertaking to deal with one of the most recondite combinations of data from both these fields.

In teaching precollege students about so complex a subject gross simplification is unavoidable. But what kind of simplification? Assuming that classroom discussion has any real impact on attitudes and beliefs, it can matter greatly which of the following procedures we adopt. We can focus upon "classes" when dealing with topics where status is relevant, even going so far as to organize a course around class and status concepts—introducing as a modification recognition of the fact that class lines are not rigid. Alternatively, we can teach pupils that our society offers great opportunities for capable and ambitious people, but that in even the most democratic societies there are many injustices and discriminations. The personal attitudes of teachers are likely to outweigh the complicated evidence in determining the pedagogical orientation. Moreover, at the secondary level, there are no "mere facts" about social class. Outside the scholarly domain people talk about social class because they want to do something about it, and their "facts" are enmeshed in programmatic valuations. Given the complexity and the emotional nature of the topic, one or another stereotype is almost unavoidable. Whatever the approach, attempts to teach a necessarily simplified version of the status system may give children a more naive idea about our society than they would get from folklore and cumulative direct experience.

Shall we teach about "social class" or about "social life in America" with incidental allusion to stratification? It is one thing for youth to learn in a social problems course that incomes are not equally distributed, or that the quality of housing is limited by family income, or that few laborers sit in the legislature. It is something else to reiterate, section by section through a long teaching unit, that those features of our life are effects of "social class position." Such status features as may relate to a particular topic can be handled frankly. To put the label "social class" on a cluster of advantages or handicaps creates quite a different conception —a stereotype. We may be having some success in eliminating ethnic stereotypes from children's minds, but are we merely replacing them with class stereotypes? Labels such as "upper class" can become just as explosive as "nigger." Most individuals doubtless would find it easier to adjust to low incomes or restricted opportunities if they did not feel that they were members of "the lower class."

We might take warning from other exaggerated emphases in our society. We have made a fetish of female beauty in schools as in the movies. What effects does this obsession have upon marriages and upon the girls who are not beautiful, or upon the boys who can never compete for the beautiful girls? How much benefit is recreation deriving from commercialization of school sports? How much sportsmanship are we teaching? Even with regard to sex education, it may be that courses in mental hygiene, household operation, or even etiquette would prove more beneficial.

Coming closer to the heart of the question, we may ask, Should children be made self-conscious about social class? (And one must use "should" in this query, since we are dealing with value choices, and highly controversial ones.) What ends will this serve? After all, the

majority of children will live out their lives in the lower sections of the status hierarchy. What is the help to them to hear, item by item, the innumerable disadvantages they will experience? Perhaps illusions (to the extent that illusions are actually involved) will be more conducive to contentment both for those who "stay put" and for those who rise. It requires no school course to inform the ordinary child (or his parents) that to climb takes more drive and more work than to stay at the top when you were born there.

Let us pursue this scheme somewhat further. Much of the incentive for proposing the new teaching topic arises, one infers, from the beliefs that (*a*) social class is a predominantly dysfunctional feature of society, and (*b*) if one or two generations can be trained away from snobbishness, our customs of stratification will wither. Postponing the question of the possible harmfulness of status distinctions, we may look at the second half of the proposition. It is axiomatic that most children learn more from the actions and attitudes of people around them than from verbal commentaries upon life.[5] Perhaps the greatest contribution of the schools would be to set an example by minimizing status distinctions and hence class awareness. But suppose for a moment that children do apply theoretical stereotypes and that these include the conceptualization of "classes" as hard realities. They must then identify their own positions. Are they themselves categorically treated in terms of some social class identification? To ask this question is to look for evidence of unfairness or discrimination, and in so doing perhaps to find rationalizations of failures that are in fact personal, and thereby to cultivate resentments. To talk openly about social class may encourage the fortunate to grasp all possible prerogatives as their due (regardless of the teacher's ideology), while impelling others to project their resentments even more bitterly upon the whole society. History teaching has not weakened nationalism nor has greater understanding of sex diminished illicit conduct or improved the status of women. Will the teaching of class-status concepts contribute to the melting away of classes, or will it sharpen class identifications, restrictive techniques among the privileged, and rebellious negativism among others?

Clearly we are dealing here with a self-realizing prediction. It may be "better" for people to believe that failure is the result of bad luck and lack of ambition rather than the result of the system. Perhaps the first description is actually a more accurate picture of our society. Perhaps the status system makes more positive contributions to the functioning of the total society than we acknowledge. We may need the Benthamite incentive to operate a complex society.

It is becoming conventional to assert that the ideology affirming America to be a classless society is a myth—which of course it is. But pragmatically, has belief in this myth been deleterious? The ideal of striving toward equal opportunity rather than emphasis upon status equality may be necessary if the schools are to raise measurably the cultural level of disadvantaged groups. And so once more we may ask the prudential question, Should children be encouraged to accept an assumption of fuzzy class lines and status fluidity, or should they learn to identify their fellows in class terms? Discrimination, exploitation, and cruelty come so easily to human beings that one

[5] British experience of the last generation suggests that heavy taxation may break down class lines sooner than any formal teaching.

may well hesitate to arm people with neat categories by which to rationalize their prejudices. Such stereotyping can hardly be avoided if teaching is organized around the concepts of social class. Indeed, how mythical this faith is remains open to debate. To repeat, our assumptions about the nature of the class system, its causes, and how it operates must influence our expectations about the results of focusing school instruction upon that system.

NATURE OF THE AMERICAN CLASS SYSTEM

Even readers who find the foregoing objections to teaching "the facts" about stratification to be unconvincing must discover what those facts are. As yet we know very little about this central part of our social structure, and professional consensus is emerging very slowly. Ironically, where consensus exists, these facts are quite familiar to children. As knowledge accumulates, our picture of the status system is becoming more complex. But curriculum planners and writers of high school textbooks will find it difficult to keep in touch with the most recent work and will be tempted to rely upon popularizations which have little relation to the current state of theory and research.

This is not the place for a miniature treatise on stratification. Instead we hazard some judgments about conclusions that are likely to crystallize from ongoing research, together with a few basic points of logic and theory. If these tentative conclusions are supported, the task of designing a teaching unit on social status will prove elusive.

It may be helpful to begin by emphasizing the multiplicity of forms or aspects of status inequality. There has possibly been too much discussion about the single aspect of stratification summed up in the labels upper-upper, lower-lower, and so forth. It is these rubrics especially that suffer from unreliability in contrast to more objective indices. It would appear, moreover, that the correlation between the objective indexes and these subjective ones is rather low. The very fact that inequalities are multiple and imperfectly correlated has great importance, for such a state of affairs implies not a more rigid but a less rigid status system. The more criteria we must use to classify a set of people adequately with respect to status, the less weight we may put on any one of these criteria.

It follows that until we know the pattern of inequality in each of these aspects of status *and* the pattern of relationships among these facets, we have little foundation for speaking of social class. The very concept of social class presupposes a congruence and a *high* correlation among many forms of inequality.

In the special case of the United States the situation is complicated further by the intrusion of status factors only incidentally related to class. There are strong regional differentiations, religious cleavages, ethnic differences, and the special problems of Negroes and Spanish-Americans. The association among these four criteria of status and the particular criterion of class is to a large extent historical and certainly very fluid.

But even setting aside these splits in American society, status differences are manifest and marked in each aspect of life. Within each regional, religious, ethnic, or racial group families are diverse in amount and type and stability of income as well as in amount and form and "age" of wealth. There are enormous inequalities of schooling, quantitatively and qualitatively. Occupational position and material possessions are no less di-

verse. Then there are differences in social participation and "culture," not to mention health, personality, and other traits.[6]

In discoursing upon these varieties of inequality, people are prone to use indefinite language. We speak of class differences in educational opportunity, but are such differences greater or less than differences of income?[7] Are income differentials wider than records in sports or the number of dates garnered by coeds during a year? Instead of collapsing everything into the portmanteau concept "social class" we need to measure specific inequalities. Only then can we compare them and ascertain their intercorrelations. When we become accustomed to thinking quantitatively about these differentials we can then appreciate the importance of asking, Are differences within classes larger or smaller than differences between classes?

It is no less important that we obtain some definite indications of trends in these several aspects of inequality. Ten years ago there seems to have been virtual unanimity that vertical mobility was diminishing in this country; today there appears to be an emerging consensus that mobility is not diminishing. But what we need is definite information about particular kinds of mobility. It is equally essential that we reach some conclusion about the changing relationships among various aspects of status. Is education more or less closely correlated with income today than formerly? Does education or income show the most marked trend relation with infant mortality?

In moving from separate status elements to the integrative concept of social class one must take certain logical steps. As a minimum, one should not speak of social class—though it is permissible to speak of stratification—unless the separate indexes of status are highly correlated. In fact, it is rare to find correlations above .5—rather poor betting odds. If we know a family's place on one scale of status we should be able to predict closely its position on other scales. But this is only a necessary step, hardly sufficient evidence. Everyone knows that individuals with high incomes exert more than average political influence and send their children to elite schools. We must, however, go further and show that these correlations are stable over time, otherwise we have only "a game of musical chairs." Knowing a family's relative income in 1920, what can one predict about the grandchildren's status in 1980? Where are the sons of the governors and cabinet members of 1914? But we must ask also, What were the incomes of the fathers of men who today enjoy fortunes or high office?

We cannot yet answer most of these questions. We obtain an illusory impression of definiteness and rigidity of status when we take a snapshot of a community. This definiteness disappears when we look at trends. Communities seem to be stable while the national society appears to be fluid, which is impossible.

If we speak of the cultural standards of parents or about the motivation of children toward success we touch upon the phenomenon of exclusiveness. Many

[6] A curious equivocation in attitudes about status deserves mention. We encourage rigid and impersonal—sometimes even brutal and dishonest—standards in sports and hobbies. No one begrudges the athlete his trophies and no one suggests grading sports affairs to avoid invidious judgments. Inequalities in income are less approved, though no one has shown that the athlete deserves his awards any more than the man with a high income. See Dean A. Worcester, Jr., and Robert J. Lampman, "Income, Ability, and Size of Family in the United States," *Journal of Political Economy*, 58:436-42, 1950.

[7] See C. Arnold Anderson, "Inequalities in Schooling in the South," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60:547-61, 1955, especially 557-60.

regard snobbishness, especially as it guides the formation of cliques, as the most subtle aspect of class. But one would hardly expect parents to encourage their offspring to imitate "lower" standards.[8] We really need to give some systematic attention to the positive functions of snobbishness as a protector of standards and a stimulant to ambition. Having moved beyond the first step of showing that social status influences educational attainment, we are discovering that the cultural quality of a home is at least as powerful as its economic standing in this regard. Furthermore, we must keep in mind that no social class holds a convention to decide which children to allow in school or which students in a university. The same parents who expect teachers to favor their children set up college scholarships that are won by children from other social classes.

Clearly, then, if social classes are not merely arbitrary lines on statistical charts we have to find out what their functions are. What do big business executives do to and for society? How does one balance the technical contributions of artisans with their discrimination against the less skilled? Such questions are more fundamental than the dining customs in Petuniaville.

One can gain considerable insight also by attempting to trace relations between the great institutional systems and our status system. One can balance the driving force of the Protestant ethic against the narcotic effects of some other doctrines. Church members may not welcome the unwashed into their congregation, yet church-sponsored colleges have aided the children of these rejected parishioners to rise in American society. In the political sphere one can ask whether a sane foreign trade policy is more likely to be sponsored by high-income corporation executives or by farm organizations. Are the real needs and the wishes of the masses ignored to a greater extent by legislatures today than formerly? How did it happen that the masses won the opportunity to exert pressure via the vote? How can we explain the fact that the upper classes provide more vigorous support for civil rights? If upper-upper men rule each "Yankee City," how did we happen to obtain a New Deal? Then there is the problem of reconciling the community studies of stratification with the fact that leadership in big business today is less inbred, class-wise, than formerly. It is necessary to come to terms with the abstruse economic analysis which suggests that monopoly is not an increasing tendency in our economy. We must find some means of relating the diminishing inequality of income or wealth with the reports of shifts in the skill hierarchy and dolorous conclusions about upper-class dominance of our communities.

Inconsistency between widely accepted views about stratification and the hard facts is no less conspicuous in the field of education. It is easy to show that school boards and trustees are mainly well-placed men. But, as Charters pointed out,[9] it is not so easy to demonstrate that these men have seriously distorted the development of our school system. We are the most unabashedly "free enterprise" and businessman-oriented society

[8] Much of the worry about the middle-class character of the teachers of lower-class students seems misplaced. Certainly, teachers should know the cultural background of their pupils, and pupils should be taught empathy. But our society cannot be run with the mores of the lower classes; the schools must reorient lower-class children, along with children of ethnic groups, if they are to be able to participate in the society.

[9] W. W. Charters Jr., "Social Class Analysis and the Control of Public Education," *Harvard Educational Review*, 23:268-83, 1953.

on earth, yet schooling is more equally distributed than income. It would be difficult to show that the sparsity of educational funds reflects upper-class opposition more than lower-class indifference. There are many caste-like features of our racial situation, yet Negroes in southern cities have more schooling than do white people on southern farms. Academic freedom is more assured in colleges run by millionaire boards than in those closely responsive to public opinion.

Americans are really more interested in the chances for their children to move upward than in whether there are social classes. Mobility is the touchstone of a status system. It is on this very point, curiously, that we have the greatest shortage of data. The newer findings suggest that one's chance of upward (and, of course, downward) mobility has not diminished during this century at least. Sons of farmers and laborers and clerks are finding it slightly easier to reach top positions in business. Farm ownership is at a high level. The recruitment base for the professions seems to be widening. The correlation between individual ability and occupational position appears to have become closer, while the correlation between parental income and one's own occupational position or one's schooling gets smaller.[10]

How many of these conclusions, to bring this inventory to a close, would one obtain from the reports of community studies of social class? Yet it is these community studies that are generalized in the textbooks and popular articles. The conclusions suggested here as probable just do not harmonize with the prevalent picture of the American class system that has been disseminated during the past two decades. Is it temerity to suggest that curricular revision be postponed or based upon a wider survey of the literature?

There is a dilemma any of us must confront when he takes up the study of social stratification. On the one hand there are all the inequalities in the distribution of goods and opportunities and there are the infinite shadings of snobbishness. Some of these discriminations can probably be diminished or eliminated. But on the other hand, it must be recognized that some sort of status system is an inherent part of any society.[11] The basic issues, if we are realistic, must then center on the kind of status system. Perhaps some of what seem to be dysfunctional aspects of stratification are the price of the desirable features. Perhaps many "undesired" aspects of status are not really problems to be solved.

[10] In no other country does the child of a laborer or a farmer have so good a chance to obtain a higher education, though even here his chance is, of course, not so good as that of the son of a business executive. In few other countries, if any, does the professional man's child have so little differential advantage. See C. Arnold Anderson, "Social Status of University Students in Relation to Type of Economy: an International Comparison," *Transactions Third World Congress of Sociology*, V:51-63, 1956. One would obtain quite a different impression of American education from this survey than from W. L. Warner et al., *Who Shall Be Educated?* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1944).

[11] Two quotations may be taken from an article whose theme is parallel to the present one, though stressing different points: F. McMurray, "Who Shall Be Educated for What?" *Progressive Education*, 27:111-16, 1950. "If the present class structure in American society operates against equality of opportunity, and if its presence is a cause of snobbery, competitive social climbing, and countless slights against pride and security, then why should it be proposed, by the very people who bring these unhappy consequences to our attention, that we accept it and adapt our children to it?" (111) "This program is through and through self-contradictory, for it asks that we use the schools to institute a change in culture of considerable magnitude, and it is precisely the declared impossibility of so using the schools which is supposed to have been the basic rationale of the whole program." (114)

We must build our courses of study on real societies, not utopias. Measured against perfect equality, educational opportunity, for example, is far from this goal in America. Measured against the scale of actual societies, America is at or near the more equalitarian end of the line. But we have to think of status quantitatively. When we compare the distribution of schooling with the distribution of income, vague descriptive labels are too blunt tools for the task. In thinking about vertical mobility, similarly, we must apply a little arithmetic. Even if all the upper classes were by some magic annihilated each generation, only a small fraction of other classes could find room in the upper stratum.

Finally, a glance may be taken at the problem of class struggle. Clear-cut class issues are playing a steadily diminishing role in politics. The struggles today are between the big politico-economic blocs: labor unions, business associations, farm organizations; American watch manufacturers versus American manufacturers of products purchased by Swiss watchmakers, and so on.

Suppose we do wish to use our schools to facilitate the maintenance of an open society. Is it really efficacious to take time to discuss our social class system? Perhaps it would be more useful to instruct pupils about the fallacies of tariffs, the inflationary tendencies of escalator wage scales, the disadvantages of fixed as against merit wage scales, or the fallacies of parity prices. Class issues are not going to be settled in class terms but in these other guises.

The Writings of William F. Russell

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RARELY does one look to an educator's administrative papers for the distillate of his professional wisdom. Yet William F. Russell's twenty-seven annual reports to the Trustees of Teachers College not only hold the key to his educational thought, they make quite remarkable reading in their own right. They range in subject from the internal problems of a large faculty to the deepest relationships between education and politics. The most limited in scope are never parochial, while those of greatest breadth are inevitably directed to gnawing questions of educational practice. Throughout they are bound together by a common sounding of the classical theme that he who would educate must first ponder what it is to live well.

The theme is no surprise, considering Russell's background, training, and temperament. He had literally grown up with Teachers College and American education. Through his boyhood home had come a procession of notables from every domain of the educational world. He had attended the Horace Mann elementary school when it was still housed in the upper floors of the Teachers College Main Hall and had been graduated from the high school soon after Horace Mann had moved to its new building on 120th Street and Broadway. Upon finishing his undergraduate studies in history at Cornell, he had taught for two years in Colorado, returning to Teachers College in 1912 to complete his work for the Ph. D. degree. Thereafter, in connection with posts at the George Peabody College for Teachers and the State University of Iowa, he had travelled widely in Europe and Asia on a variety of educational missions. When he returned to Teachers College in 1923 as professor of education and associate director of the recently formed International Institute, his record as an educator of stature was already impressive. Four years later he succeeded his father as dean, holding the post through the turmoil of depression, war, and postwar readjustment. After a short term in the newly created presidency of Teachers College, he retired in 1954, not to mellow years of elder statesmanship but to the demanding executive post at the International Cooperation Administration in which he was actively serving at the time of his death.

Even a hasty perusal of Russell's writing indicates a fascinating catholicity of educational interest. He was first and foremost an interpreter of American edu-

cation, dealing repeatedly with such grand themes as democracy, liberty, equality, and discipline as they bear on the work of American schools. His concerns ranged from the nursery school to the university, from preparation for citizenship to the maintenance of good health, from the apprentice training of the adolescent to the proper use of adult leisure. As early as 1918 he published a long essay on "Education in the United States of America" in Peter Sandiford's volume on *Comparative Education*, and his interest in the critical interpretation of American education never waned.

There is another sense, however, in which this early essay in the Sandiford volume is perhaps even more significant. Throughout his life, Russell was intrigued with the method of comparative education. His forte was not so much the compilation of data about foreign educational systems, although his *Schools in Bulgaria* provides a fine example of pioneering work in this field. Rather, he excelled in his ability to *apply* his comparative studies not only in understanding and improving American education but in sensitizing American educators to the international dimensions of their work. Here more than anywhere, perhaps, contemporary comparative educators may learn from Russell; for the failure so to apply their data is too frequently the salient weakness of their discipline.

In the field of history, too, Russell put his knowledge to work. For him good history could never be mere chronicle; it had to illuminate the present and the future. And interested as he was in the relation of education and politics, his lifelong fascination with the French and American revolutions served him in good stead. He peppered his writings with allusions to Washington, Jefferson, Colbert, Napoleon, Pitt, and Castlereagh, and whether or not one agreed with his interpretations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, his analyses inevitably cut deep. Little wonder that his discussions of citizenship education went far beyond the all-too-usual cant about memorizing the Declaration of Independence and voting on Election Day.

Granted these more cosmic interests, Russell never disdained the organizational, administrative, or financial aspects of education. Hence his frequent essays dealing with the relationship of quality, quantity, and economy in education; with the bearing of a nation's political commitments on its educational administration; with federal aid as a solution to the financial problems of American education; and with the impact of industrialism on the organization of American schools. Furthermore, at no point in his consideration of organizational matters did he ever lose sight of the elemental fact that no school is better than its teachers. He worked tirelessly to improve the education of teachers and the conditions under which they labored. In reading his essays, it is frequently a matter of delight to see his artistry in taking an abstruse discussion of some philosophical or ideological issue and pointing out its clear relevance for professional education. Moreover, he was able effectively to combine this interest in teacher with his deeply held commitment to internationalism; the result was the World Organization of the Teaching Profession, organized largely through his efforts and of which he was first president.

One is impressed, throughout, with the pungency of Russell's prose, a pungency which was so much an extension of his personal forthrightness. Consider, for example, several of his titles: "Where Are We Going and Are We on the Way?"; "How to Tell a Communist and How to

Beat Him"; "Public Education and the Depression: Must Our Children Share?"; or "Education, a Liberty We Prize and a Right We Will Maintain." Perhaps they leave too little to the imagination; but in a field notorious for its jargon, they are a breath of rhetorical fresh air. One is impressed, too, with the variety of journals —popular and scholarly—which carried his articles. To address classroom teachers and the public, as well as the world of high scholarship, one must publish in magazines read by classroom teachers and the public—and in prose that will command their interest. William F. Russell had a knack for this; and it is no surprise that while others were wringing their hands in the face of postwar educational criticism, he was writing his last published book, *How to Judge a School: A Handbook for Puzzled Parents and Tired Taxpayers.*

In the final analysis, however, one is drawn constantly to his annual reports. Here were the man's most penetrating insights; here was his most polished prose. It is said that he worked uncommonly long and hard over these essays; perhaps he himself had a sense that they would be his abiding testament. The questions they pose are classical; but their discussion is distinctly modern. And while the hard political realities of the twentieth-century world condition their every judgment, Russell's faith in education pervades them all. One cannot read these reports and remain unmoved; they inevitably invite comparison with a similar set of reports which a century earlier had stated so well the case for the American public school.

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1928-29 The Continental University, the English University, the American College, and the American Professional School as Models for American Teacher Education

1929-30 Secondary Education for Industrial America

1930-31 European and American Teacher Education

1931-32 Education and the Depression

• The Annual Reports were not titled. The wording of items in this section is intended merely to give the principal theme of each Report.

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1933-34 The Reorganization of Teachers College
1934-35 Education and Political Economy
1935-36 A Philosophy for American Teacher Education
1936-37 Freedom of Thought within Teachers College
1937-38 Democracy, Dictatorship, and Citizenship Education
1938-39 Education and Citizenship
1939-40 Education, Democracy, and National Defense
1940-41 Education, Citizenship, and the Hopes of Mankind
1941-42 Education, Literacy, and National Defense
1942-43 Education and Problems of War
1943-44 Education, the War, and the Traditions of Teachers College
1944-45 Education and Postwar America
1945-46 Education, Communism, and Democracy
1946-47 A Philosophy for Teachers College
1947-48 Education and the Work of the American Military Government
1948-49 Democracy and Citizenship Education
1949-50 The Citizenship Education Project at Teachers College
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Edward Samuel Evenden, 1884-1957

THERE are men whose identification with their field of work is so close and whose devotion is so real that their names become synonymous with their chosen area of service. Such a man was Edward Samuel Evenden. For a half century he labored in the field of teacher education. Much of the progress made during this period in this area was an outcome of his leadership and dedication. He deserves the honorary title of "Mr. Teacher Education."

Professor Evenden's death on October 19, 1957 in Long Beach, California, marked the passing of one of the significant educational leaders of our times. As President Hollis Caswell of Teachers College stated, "Professor Evenden was one of the pioneering leaders in teacher education. Much of the frontier thinking in this area was the result of his efforts."

Dr. Evenden began his professional work in Oregon in 1903, where he first served as teacher and superintendent of schools, and later as head of the department of education of the State Normal School, Monmouth, Oregon. He completed his notable career a half century later at Teachers College, Columbia University, where he had been a member of the faculty and administrative staff from 1920 until his retirement.

Professor Evenden was born in Oregon on October 29, 1884. His early schooling and professional preparation were obtained in Oregon and at Stanford University, where he earned his A.B. and A.M. degrees in 1910 and 1911, respectively. In 1918 he came to Teachers College, Columbia University, to work for his doctorate. He had come to stay, for in 1920, after earning the Ph.D. degree, he was appointed an assistant professor. He rose rapidly in rank and in esteem at Teachers College and became a key leader in the development of the program there. In addition to carrying his professorial duties at Teachers College, he served as Executive Officer of its Advanced School of Education and Chairman of its Committee on the Doctor of Education Degree, and as a member of the Committee on Instruction, Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University.

In 1912 Evenden married Louise Marcus, who was the gracious hostess and friend of hundreds of students during the many years of her husband's service at Teachers College. The daughter of the Evendens, Louise Anne (Mrs. James S. Crafts), has served as a teacher of art and is the mother of a son and a daughter. Her husband is a professor at Long Beach State College in California.

Professor Evenden was a leader in the development of teacher education in the United States during the first half of this century. He directed and participated in numerous surveys of school and college plants, curriculums, and professional personnel. From 1930 to 1933 he directed the National Survey of Teacher Education, under the auspices of the United States Office of Education, and wrote two of its influential six volumes.

He headed important agencies con-

cerned with the improvement of standards for teacher preparation, such as the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education. He was influential in forming the American Association of Teachers Colleges, and, as Chairman of its Committee on Studies and Standards, did much to improve accrediting and other standards of institutions concerned with teacher education. He was a member of several scholarship and honorary fraternities, such as Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Delta Kappa, and Kappa Delta Pi. He was a Laureate Counselor of the latter society.

Professor Evenden served on committees of a wide range of national organizations, such as the National Education Association, the National Society for the Study of Education, the National YMCA, and the League for Nursing Education. He was author or co-author of *Standards for College Buildings, Education in a Democracy, A Quarter of a Century of Standards,* and *Control and Support of Teachers Colleges.*

Sam Evenden, as he was known to his many friends, was more than a teacher of teachers and a leader in the improvement of the profession of teaching. To the many hundreds of students who had the privilege of working with him, he was both a counselor and a friend. He never let his striving for high professional accomplishment submerge his warm human qualities. He was the kind of teacher who made a difference in the personal lives of many appreciative students.

Edward Samuel Evenden needs no monument of stone; his memorial will be found in the lives of many hundreds of teachers and executives in schools, colleges, and universities throughout the nation and in many foreign lands. They serve better because they have been in his classes and have had his friendly advice as counselor and friend. Countless thousands of children are being better taught today because of the work of Sam Evenden. They, too, are a part of his living monument.

JOHN K. NORTON

REVIEWS

A Fourth of a Nation, by Paul Woodring. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1957. 255 pp. $4.50.

The demise of *Progressive Education* magazine last July marked the end of an era in American pedagogy. Yet one would hardly have realized it from the pitifully small group of mourners at the funeral. Indeed, were it not for the obituary Benjamin Fine thoughtfully inserted in the *New York Times*, few outside the dwindling list of subscribers would even have known. Why this oblivion for a journal that once commanded world-wide attention? The appearance of Mr. Woodring's new book just two months later ought to provide some fruitful clues.

Woodring, who teaches psychology at Western Washington College of Education and has served as consultant to the Fund for the Advancement of Education, propounds an engaging thesis. Progressive education, he contends, must be seen primarily as a reaction—in the Hegelian sense—to classicism in pedagogy. The "classic thesis," as he calls it, maintains that man is a rational being; that the proper aim of education is to improve man's ability to reason; that a curriculum designed to do this must be based upon the inherent logic of subject matter; and that the teaching of such a curriculum is an art rather than a science. These tenets, Woodring maintains, dominated American education until the turn of the present century. Then, largely under the influence of evolutionary naturalism, Pragmatism, and behavioristic psychology (and further complicated by the doctrines of Rousseau, Freud, Counts, and Rugg), a new pedagogy arose essentially antithetical to classicism. It held that man is a physical and emotional being as well as a rational being; that education must deal with the "whole child," not merely his mind; that the curriculum must expand accordingly; and that teachers must be scientifically prepared to accept these new responsibilities. True to his Hegelian analysis, Woodring finds difficulties with both positions. The "classic thesis" has proved inadequate to the demands of universal education. The "progressive antithesis" has been too much preoccupied with negative protest, too little concerned with positive goals; it has been "right in much that it emphasized, wrong in much that it rejected." Thus is the stage set for the primary enterprise of the volume: the effort to formulate a contemporary synthesis.

The result is an eminently sensible cluster of proposals. In a society of free men, Woodring argues, the proper aim of education must be "to prepare the individual to make wise decisions. All else is but contributory." To achieve this aim he proposes a "drastic reorganization" of American education that will prevent present duplication, combine grading by chronological age with grouping by aptitude, and allow proper attention to the more gifted third of the school population. An ungraded primary school, in which the pupil may remain for two, three, or four years "depending on maturity and learning capacity," will be followed by a four-year elementary school and a three-year high school. For some, compulsory education will end at sixteen; others will go on to trade schools, junior colleges, or four-year liberal arts colleges whose programs will be conceived as prerequisite for all advanced professional and

academic work. All teachers will complete the regular liberal arts course and follow it with further studies in philosophy of education, educational psychology, and liberal arts subjects, and in addition, with a paid internship in a school system, closely supervised by properly qualified school personnel. In general, graduate programs for teachers and other professional educators will consist of a proper balance of liberal and professional studies, with no more than one-fourth to one-half of any program given over to courses in Education. (These proposals were given wide circulation by articles in *Life*, *Time*, and *Newsweek* at the beginning of the current school year.)

Simply to sketch the gist of these proposals, however, is to miss the spirit in which they are advanced; and it is this spirit which more than anything else marks the volume. Following in the vein of his earlier book, *Let's Talk Sense About the Schools* (1953), Woodring has bypassed the polemicists in both the classicist and progressive camps and has set out to develop policies profiting from the best of both. If the controversies which have racked the pedagogical world since 1945 are, as President Caswell and the Educational Policies Commission have suggested, a "great reappraisal" of American education, then this volume is one logical outcome. Woodring's approach throughout is conciliatory rather than contentious, experimental rather than doctrinaire. He criticizes shortcomings and appreciates strengths on both sides; he assumes that professors of education cannot be disposed of by incantation—indeed, he recognizes that they have a central contribution to make; and he reiterates in a dozen different ways President Conant's historic plea (at Teachers College in 1944) for a truce among educators. If the volume accomplishes nothing else, it ought substantially to contract the market for pedagogical polemicism.

Now the plea for a truce among educators rests on an important assumption, one that has been gaining widespread acceptance during the past decade; it looks upon the preparation of teachers as a responsibility of the university as a whole. Charles E. Odegaard, Dean of the liberal arts college of the University of Michigan, in the eminent series of lectures he delivered at the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies during the summer of 1956, invited attention to a fascinating process in the history of American higher education. It is the process by which new professional faculties have broken off from the parent faculty of arts and sciences, independently cultivated new intellectual domains, matured, and then, strangely enough, evidenced their maturity by returning to the parental fold and enriching it with new perspective. The analogy which comes inevitably to mind is that of the adolescent who, having to rebel against his family in the process of establishing his own personhood, marks the beginning of maturity by coming home as an adult. This process of alienation and return —to continue the Hegelian constructions— has marked the life of Medicine and Law in our era; today it is much in evidence in Education. It lends a strikingly hollow ring to faculty-club cracks about the follies of the educationists, and renders somewhat antediluvian that old straw man, the academician, annually trotted out and destroyed in the school of education. Woodring's book exemplifies well this new adult spirit in the university; in so doing, it makes its central contribution.

But granted these merits of the volume—and they are considerable—there are problems to be raised. The truth is not always the midpoint of two extremes, nor is progress always the synthesis of thesis and antithesis, Hegel notwithstanding. Few would quarrel with Woodring's contention that the Progressive Education Association had become moribund, doctrinaire, and cult-like after World War II, and that its passing in 1955 may well have cleared the air. But progressivism in American education has always been much more than the version of it developed by the PEA after 1919. In addition to the philosophical and psychological contributions of Peirce, James, Dewey, Thorndike, and others discussed by Woodring,

progressive education has been the "schooling for life" recommended by Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, the "social education" advocated by Jane Addams as a member of the Chicago school board, and by Walter Hines Page in his efforts to rehabilitate the South, the community-oriented university, carried to its apogee in Wisconsin by Charles Van Hise and Robert La Follette, and the work-study-play innovations at Gary, Indiana, celebrated in matchless pedagogical prose by Randolph Bourne in the early issues of *The New Republic*. Progressive education was a protest movement, to be sure; but even more than this it was a cluster of positive ideas closely associated with social and political progressivism.

To suggest that the death of the PEA—which itself neither understood nor espoused the whole tradition of progressive education—renders these ideas irrelevant is at the very least cavalier. Moreover, it quickly renders Woodring's "synthesis" suspect. Not only is his understanding of the "antithesis" less than adequate, but the reader has the sense he has heard the "synthesis" before. True Hegelian synthesis moves thought forward to new formulations of a problem. Close study of Woodring's program reveals that it is far more eclectic than synthetic; indeed, it does not take us much beyond—some might even say not as far as—Dewey's *Experience and Education* (1938), or for that matter, his *Child and the Curriculum* (1902). To advance this criticism is certainly not to join in the too-frequent veneration of Dewey; it is simply to compare one Hegelian with another.

Questions must also be raised regarding Woodring's recommendations on the professional education of teachers. Paid apprenticeships, for example, would undoubtedly do much to alleviate the current shortage of teachers; but would the transfer of "clinical training" to the school systems themselves necessarily represent an advance over current practice? The answer, of course, is a matter of heated contemporary debate. Certainly, considerations regarding the design, coordination, and integrity of professional teacher education inevitably intrude. Some would contend that the nation's medical schools might as well transfer all of their clinical and bedside teaching to the hospitals in an effort to solve the shortage of physicians. To be sure, teachers too frequently, and falsely, analogize to the medical profession. Yet the greatness of American medicine can be traced rather directly to the phenomenal improvements in American medical education during the past fifty years. And those familiar with the work of Abraham Flexner will readily admit that these improvements did not come about by "farming out" the responsibilities for clinical education. Rather, they lay in the retention of full-time professors of clinical medicine and the strengthening of relationships with public and private teaching hospitals whose facilities were partly or totally controlled by the medical school. The process was and is an extraordinarily expensive one; but few Americans are today opposing the expenditures, for the returns have been prodigious.

A final point bears comment. Nowhere in Woodring's careful formulation of organization and program does the reader gain any sense of the variation and pluralism of American education. David Riesman, in his very thoughtful little volume *Constraint and Variety in American Education*, recently described the course of American higher education as a "snake-like procession," frequently with a quarter-century between head and tail. Granted there are school systems which could incorporate Woodring's recommendations to great advantage, there remain rural schools which could still learn much from Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, and poverty-stricken schools which could take profitable lessons from Jane Addams. And granted the elective system is passé, our university deans and presidents still have a great deal to learn from Charles W. Eliot's essays on *Educational Reform*. The PEA is dead, to be sure;

but maybe what is needed in addition to Woodring's solid eclecticism is some more sensible progressivism.

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Soviet Youth: Some Achievements and Problems, by Dorothea L. Meek. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1957. 251 pp.

Any American educator who will reflect upon how little he knows about American education will at once realize the great difficulties attendant upon research in Soviet education. It is possible perhaps to become an expert on the educational system of New York City, or to gauge with reasonable accuracy the problems of education in Australia, which does not greatly exceed New York City in population. But education in the Soviet Union is a different matter. Here the student is awed by the expanse of territory (one-sixth of the globe) and by the size of the population (one-quarter larger than that of America). Some comfort can be derived from awareness that in spite of perplexing diversity in administration,[1] the Soviet system is in fact rigidly centralized. But that is only a thin veneer which often renders obscure the endless variety of educational practices far diverging from the theoretical uniformity.

Hence every honest student of the system must admit that Soviet research is partly facts and partly intuition. The new opportunities for travel in permitted regions of European Russia will, no doubt, help to increase factual knowledge, especially if the beneficiaries of such travel guard against imprudent generalizations. But the intuitive feeling for the development of Soviet affairs can be developed only by painstaking study of Soviet sources. A continuous familiarity, not with secondary descriptions of education but with primary documents emanating from schools and agencies of their administration, cannot really be dispensed with. It is the basic equipment for a study of the system.

But here the language barrier looms large. For a majority of American educators it would be a difficult and perhaps even an unwarranted effort to master the Russian language to the point of following with ease the ceaseless flow of Soviet information, and even more important to catch the nuances that lurk between the lines. Hence the very great importance of the present study. It is a collection of Soviet educational documents and descriptions of school life excerpted by a researcher at Glasgow University from postwar Soviet press.

The value of the volume does not reside solely, however, in thus making primary sources available in English. Translations of Soviet materials have recently multiplied, not the least through the official efforts of the Foreign Language Publishing House in Moscow.[2] What distinguishes the volume is the way in which these excerpts have been selected and bound together in a harmonious whole by scholarly editorial introductions. The result is a book which "breathes." In four self-contained parts the editor presents in turn the preschool pupils, the school children, the youth of college age, and the parents in school- and out-of-school situations. We are thus able to trace not only the lives and circumstances of youngsters of school age but also the way in which their problems affect the adults around them.

Thus the non-Russian-reading student has an opportunity to catch glimpses of real Soviet people as they go about the business of education, enmeshed, to be sure, in the net of official political orthodoxy, but nevertheless real people whose lives and actions far transcend the rigid boundaries set for them by their government. It is this more genuine view of the Russian people that breaks through the lines of propaganda-slanted texts from which the choice of ex-

[1] See G. Z. F. Bereday, "Recent Changes in Soviet School Administration," *School and Society*, November, 1957.

[2] See G. Z. F. Bereday, "Recent Developments in the Soviet Schools. II." *Comparative Education Review*, October, 1957, p. 10.

cerpts for this volume inevitably had to be made.

Perhaps the measure of the book can best be tested by illustrations. It has long been a matter of great interest to see how the rapid emergence of an industrial order affects the relations between city and country children. Two examples chosen at random cast significant light on this question. The first excerpt is from *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* and it reports the arrival of a city child in a village.

> It took a little time before Alik felt at home in the village. Everything—the people and the life around—was new to him. The evening he arrived he went outside the gate, and was besieged by the collective farm children. Alik showed off, lied that he was getting nothing but "fives" at school and showed them his fountain pen. Just then a cloud of dust could be seen along the road and whips could be heard—they were bringing in the cattle. Our hero, the city boy, who had never seen cows before, flattened himself against the fence. And then suddenly a horned cow went past quite near him and, to the great amusement of everyone else, Alik took to his heels. The children started to make fun of him, wouldn't let him play lapta or knucklebones with them, and pushed him around a bit at first. (p. 131)

The other excerpt is from *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, and reports a conversation in a freshman trade-school class between a city and a country football player.

> "Forward, you say. Tell me, what team did you play for?" he asked.
>
> "Oh, at home, in the collective farm," Andreika answered a little more subdued now.
>
> "Some team! I play for Novosibirsk," the lad boasted.
>
> Andreika suddenly felt that his collective farm team had been offended.
>
> "Well, and what if it is a collective farm team? Our village footballers sometimes beat the town teams," Victor said from his bunk. He said it quietly and with confidence.
>
> Andreika gave him a grateful look. (p. 166)

Here are two simple texts published obviously to promote respect for the rural people. Yet they tell us much more. They give us an insight into the gamut of tensions generated at each point where city and country meet. They supply a significant additional element for our appraisal of the role of Soviet schools, which are very much a first testing ground for such meetings. Fresh perspectives such as this suddenly loom out from many pages of this book. It ought to be read from cover to cover by all who are intent on acquiring a genuine sensitivity to problems of Soviet education.

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An Educational History of the American People, by Adolphe E. Meyer. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1957, xx + 444 pp. $6.00.

There can be few in the business of teacher education who are unfamiliar with the cry that courses, seminars, lectures, and textbooks in the field of Education are too often dull, uninspired, and lifeless. Certainly not among this number, to judge from his latest book, *An Educational History of the American People*, is Adolphe E. Meyer of New York University. The postwar years have seen several major textbook-type treatments of American educational history, testimonial perhaps to something of a renaissance in the history of education field. These have been works of genuine scholarship, opening significant new avenues of study and investigation. But one can imagine Professor Meyer pointing to one of these as overly sociological in its emphasis, to another as too heavily weighted on the side of general political and economic history, to a third (on the other hand) as too freighted with the minutiae of obscure curricula and the teaching practices of an earlier day. Professor Meyer clearly set himself the task of enlivening and lightening the study of educational history and in this respect with this book he has, in considerable measure, succeeded. Striving to divest such writing of stuffiness and pedanticism, the author offers a light, occasionally sparkling, and frequently witty treatise on the evolution of

but maybe what is needed in addition to Woodring's solid eclecticism is some more sensible progressivism.

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Soviet Youth: Some Achievements and Problems, by Dorothea L. Meek. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1957. 251 pp.

Any American educator who will reflect upon how little he knows about American education will at once realize the great difficulties attendant upon research in Soviet education. It is possible perhaps to become an expert on the educational system of New York City, or to gauge with reasonable accuracy the problems of education in Australia, which does not greatly exceed New York City in population. But education in the Soviet Union is a different matter. Here the student is awed by the expanse of territory (one-sixth of the globe) and by the size of the population (one-quarter larger than that of America). Some comfort can be derived from awareness that in spite of perplexing diversity in administration,[1] the Soviet system is in fact rigidly centralized. But that is only a thin veneer which often renders obscure the endless variety of educational practices far diverging from the theoretical uniformity.

Hence every honest student of the system must admit that Soviet research is partly facts and partly intuition. The new opportunities for travel in permitted regions of European Russia will, no doubt, help to increase factual knowledge, especially if the beneficiaries of such travel guard against imprudent generalizations. But the intuitive feeling for the development of Soviet affairs can be developed only by painstaking study of Soviet sources. A continuous familiarity, not with secondary descriptions of education but with primary documents emanating from schools and agencies of their administration, cannot really be dispensed with. It is the basic equipment for a study of the system.

But here the language barrier looms large. For a majority of American educators it would be a difficult and perhaps even an unwarranted effort to master the Russian language to the point of following with ease the ceaseless flow of Soviet information, and even more important to catch the nuances that lurk between the lines. Hence the very great importance of the present study. It is a collection of Soviet educational documents and descriptions of school life excerpted by a researcher at Glasgow University from postwar Soviet press.

The value of the volume does not reside solely, however, in thus making primary sources available in English. Translations of Soviet materials have recently multiplied, not the least through the official efforts of the Foreign Language Publishing House in Moscow.[2] What distinguishes the volume is the way in which these excerpts have been selected and bound together in a harmonious whole by scholarly editorial introductions. The result is a book which "breathes." In four self-contained parts the editor presents in turn the preschool pupils, the school children, the youth of college age, and the parents in school- and out-of-school situations. We are thus able to trace not only the lives and circumstances of youngsters of school age but also the way in which their problems affect the adults around them.

Thus the non-Russian-reading student has an opportunity to catch glimpses of real Soviet people as they go about the business of education, enmeshed, to be sure, in the net of official political orthodoxy, but nevertheless real people whose lives and actions far transcend the rigid boundaries set for them by their government. It is this more genuine view of the Russian people that breaks through the lines of propaganda-slanted texts from which the choice of ex-

[1] See G. Z. F. Bereday, "Recent Changes in Soviet School Administration," *School and Society*, November, 1957.

[2] See G. Z. F. Bereday, "Recent Developments in the Soviet Schools. II." *Comparative Education Review*, October, 1957, p. 10.

cerpts for this volume inevitably had to be made.

Perhaps the measure of the book can best be tested by illustrations. It has long been a matter of great interest to see how the rapid emergence of an industrial order affects the relations between city and country children. Two examples chosen at random cast significant light on this question. The first excerpt is from *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* and it reports the arrival of a city child in a village.

> It took a little time before Alik felt at home in the village. Everything—the people and the life around—was new to him. The evening he arrived he went outside the gate, and was besieged by the collective farm children. Alik showed off, lied that he was getting nothing but "fives" at school and showed them his fountain pen. Just then a cloud of dust could be seen along the road and whips could be heard—they were bringing in the cattle. Our hero, the city boy, who had never seen cows before, flattened himself against the fence. And then suddenly a horned cow went past quite near him and, to the great amusement of everyone else, Alik took to his heels. The children started to make fun of him, wouldn't let him play lapta or knucklebones with them, and pushed him around a bit at first. (p. 131)

The other excerpt is from *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, and reports a conversation in a freshman trade-school class between a city and a country football player.

> "Forward, you say. Tell me, what team did you play for?" he asked.
>
> "Oh, at home, in the collective farm," Andreika answered a little more subdued now.
>
> "Some team! I play for Novosibirsk," the lad boasted.
>
> Andreika suddenly felt that his collective farm team had been offended.
>
> "Well, and what if it is a collective farm team? Our village footballers sometimes beat the town teams," Victor said from his bunk. He said it quietly and with confidence.
>
> Andreika gave him a grateful look. (p. 166)

Here are two simple texts published obviously to promote respect for the rural people. Yet they tell us much more. They give us an insight into the gamut of tensions generated at each point where city and country meet. They supply a significant additional element for our appraisal of the role of Soviet schools, which are very much a first testing ground for such meetings. Fresh perspectives such as this suddenly loom out from many pages of this book. It ought to be read from cover to cover by all who are intent on acquiring a genuine sensitivity to problems of Soviet education.

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An Educational History of the American People, by Adolphe E. Meyer. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1957, xx + 444 pp. $6.00.

There can be few in the business of teacher education who are unfamiliar with the cry that courses, seminars, lectures, and textbooks in the field of Education are too often dull, uninspired, and lifeless. Certainly not among this number, to judge from his latest book, *An Educational History of the American People*, is Adolphe E. Meyer of New York University. The postwar years have seen several major textbook-type treatments of American educational history, testimonial perhaps to something of a renaissance in the history of education field. These have been works of genuine scholarship, opening significant new avenues of study and investigation. But one can imagine Professor Meyer pointing to one of these as overly sociological in its emphasis, to another as too heavily weighted on the side of general political and economic history, to a third (on the other hand) as too freighted with the minutiae of obscure curricula and the teaching practices of an earlier day. Professor Meyer clearly set himself the task of enlivening and lightening the study of educational history and in this respect with this book he has, in considerable measure, succeeded. Striving to divest such writing of stuffiness and pedanticism, the author offers a light, occasionally sparkling, and frequently witty treatise on the evolution of

education in the United States. To illustrate, here is Professor Meyer, noting as he discusses the colonial period that "the distractions which assail us everywhere today—the seductions of radio, television, and the movies, the belaborings by the press—were, alas, unknown to our less civilized ancestors, as were the other marvels by which progress has enabled us to ease away our lives." Or as he later considers the modern university curriculum: "Where once the college contented itself with wooing the muses, today it teaches virtually anything for which it can gain an audience."

The effort to stimulate and intrigue the reader is particularly apparent in chapter organization and headings, in the use of footnotes to suggest useful and interesting avenues for further study, and in the excellent and artful illustrations. Especially noteworthy are the brief discussions of salient socioeconomic conditions and trends to illuminate developments in education. Moreover, the author aids the student with many useful, and at the same time provocative, generalizations; for example, "The advantages which allowed education to thrive very early in Massachusetts were missing in the South"; or "The plain fact is that before any movement for teacher training could become an actuality, education itself had to be set firmly on its feet"; or, again, "Nevertheless, the New Education, whether public or private, is as much the product of the era, with its changing values, as are the transformations in business and industry."

Note should also be taken of those aspects of the American educational endeavor with which Professor Meyer deals which have heretofore received less attention than is their due. Among these matters are the credit side of the monitorial system, the details of the beginnings of both women's education and teacher education, and such facets of the history of adult education as Cooper Union, the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, and correspondence schools.

Unhappily, this is only half the story for, with all its good points, this is a disappointing book. In part, this is a matter of style—the light touch, the search for the different word, get out of hand in ways which could bewilder or exasperate the collegiate reader. A medical student becomes a "nascent Hippocrates," the frontier is described as "the far-flung rustic pampas," organizations are "sodalities," and the attendants at the colonial grammar school are designated the "short-pants elite." An inappropriate cuteness appears as we are told that "Congress [during the 1870's] did not entirely stop playing doctor at the Southern bedside"; or that "To grapple with such non-academic matters [as guidance and emotional adjustment] some schools have brought trained guides and counselors and similar wizards to their fold."

Professor Meyer confuses rather than clarifies at a number of points. For example, all discussion of the "national system" idea and federal aid seems to proceed from the tacit assumption that such policies are unquestionably desirable; the omission of education from the federal Constitution is explained simply as an instance of the "conservatism" of the founding fathers. A chapter on teacher education presents an account of the development of professional teacher education which leaves quite untouched the questions, so vital today, of the nature and substance of that education. Throughout, as Professor Meyer praises the developments in the field of professional pedagogy while gently chiding professors of education, as he lauds the insights of James or Dewey and their ramifications in classroom practice while writing with tongue-in-cheek of schools wherein Johnny "makes and serves edible meals, builds and ornaments ranch houses [and] receives the guidance that will someday, it is hoped, make for happy and enduring wedlock," the reader is left unguided to the basic educational philosophy which inspired and governed the writing.

Most serious, in the judgment of this reviewer, and most unbecoming in a textbook in the field of history, is the large number of matters of significance on which Professor Meyer renders oversimplified and unsup-

ported obiter dicta. Historically misleading, if not altogether inaccurate, are statements like these, presented by the author substantially without further elaboration:

[of the contemporary South] . . . the land is still belabored by its preposterous politicians, but for every Heflin and Bilbo there is now at least a small posse of earnest and intelligent men, free spirits who are ready to give them combat. (p. 223)

[of Robert Hutchins] He lights no candle on the altar of democracy. . . . (p. 268)

[of the findings of the Eight-Year Study] College students who had been to Progressive Schools [generally] displayed a greater intellectual brilliance. (p. 327)

In similar fashion, Professor Meyer disposes of major questions of educational policy with little or no attention to the serious pros and cons involved in their resolution. For example:

The historic one-room school with its solitary and hard-pressed teacher is [today] plainly an anachronism. (p. 404). [Is it? Or are we actually attempting to recapture certain of the values which many feel are inherent in such a pattern?]

Though the junior college is mainly of good repute, yet some complaints have been lodged against it—chiefly, as usual, on economic grounds. (p. 346). [Are the *primary* anxieties respecting the junior college economic or curricular, administrative or philosophical?]

The high school's steady and accelerating pursuit of practical and vocational ends is a phase, undoubtedly, of the national pragmatism. Even so, it has caused some critical comments—not many nor bold, it is true, but critical nevertheless. The camplainants [sic] are, for the most part, the old-timers, the vanishing gentry of scholars who seek to train the intellect and to safeguard the cultural legacy. Perhaps in practical America the older view is doomed to become an oddity, and any strong support of it, hence, may become somewhat indecorous, and even suspect. (p. 412). [Is any part of this paragraph an accurate portrayal of what is probably the most perplexing educational problem today—the nature of the modern high school?]

Of all the practitioners in the vast realm of teacher education, it falls especially to the educational historian to guard against the excessive claim, the overgeneralization, the unsupported assertion, the unwarranted or exaggerated analysis. As a textbook in this vital field, in the opinion of this reviewer, the present work falls short of meeting these supremely important responsibilities.

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